

**INSIDE: The agony of Ethiopia/The Conservative economy drive**

# Maclean's

NOVEMBER 19, 1984

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.50

**SPECIAL REPORT**

## ABORTION

**W**hen a jury of six men and six women acquitted Dr. Henry Morgentaler and his two colleagues last week, one of the most disruptive issues ever to divide the nation came under the glare of intense and impassioned scrutiny. On one side were those who say that a woman has the right to an abortion if she wishes one. On the other were those who say that a woman has no right to take a human life. And there was no middle ground.





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# Maclean's

NOVEMBER 19, 1984 VOL. 17 NO. 47

## COVER

### Abortion wins another round

Growing numbers of Canadians have complained that legal abortions are becoming harder to obtain in Canada. That public dissatisfaction, combined with the electoral last week of Dr. Henry Morgentaler on the charge of conspiring to procure an abortion, evidenced that a review of the country's abortion laws might be overdue. —Page 48

COVER PHOTO BY BRUCE L. D'AMICO



### Four more Reagan years

As Republicans celebrated one of the wildest victory margins ever, historians asked questions about what Ronald Reagan will accomplish in his second term. —Page 30



### Too late for the starving

Canada led an international airlift of emergency food aid to victims of the Ethiopian famine. But for thousands the food would simply arrive too late. —Page 29



### Capping the soaring deficit

Just days after the 33rd Parliament opened, the Tories proclaimed a new purpose: Controlling the deficit, not creating jobs, is their top priority. —Page 38



### Famous bodies sell fitness

Rachel Welch is a new addition to the list of such famous celebrities as Jane Fonda and Bette Midler, who are competing in the physical fitness videotape market. —Page 66

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## Critical challenge

Having read André Stein's notional book, *Broken Silence*, I feel that the review in your Oct. 20 edition was rather unfair ("Insights by interrogation"). First of all, to suggest that Stein could have visited a psychiatrist or written a novel is beside the point. Second, while I agree with the reviewer's assessment that *Broken Silence* does not rank among the greatest works to emerge from the Holocaust, the book does present a unique perspective of a terrified individual attempting to come to terms

with the ghosts of his past. That Stein's torment provided some measure of judgment can be assessed. A more compassionate treatment of his written record may help him to lay those ghosts to rest.

—BARB LAWRENCE & JON KLANDER,  
Mississauga, Ont.

I found the review of *Broken Silence* somewhat disturbing. While I have not as yet read the book, the review provided enough insight into the content to make it appear unique in the approach used to describe the horror and results of the

Holocaust. I am actually left intrigued enough to want to read the book. At the same time the review seems grossly unfair to the author. There is nothing in the review to substantiate the negative comments about Stein's motivation or method. The reviewer seems to have been personally challenged and angered rather than objectively disappointed, which would be correct. All in all, it is strange that a review could so strongly communicate a solid story while dismissing the author's intention in such a cavalier fashion.

—JUSTINE BROWN  
Toronto

## Combined efforts

In "Spotlights on local heroes" (Theatre, Oct. 22) and the history of the 25th Toronto Festival, *Mosley in Clover*, Blyth's inaugural production in 1970, was not "a new play" by former CEO chairman Harry J. Boyle, as reported. Without taking anything away from Harry Boyle, the play *Mosley in Clover* was adapted for the stage from Boyle's novel of the same title by son James Boyle and three of the cast in rehearsal.

—CITIZEN THUNDER  
Newmarket

## A question of justice

Your cover story regarding capital punishment ("Hanging," Oct. 2) exposes a schizophrenic set of values adopted by too many Canadians, upheld by our past and present Prime Ministers. Both Brian Mulroney and Pierre Trudeau are on record as opposing the resurrection of the death penalty. At the same time, these gentlemen (contrary to their personal views) have indicated their support for one abortion legislation in its present form. It appears that they, like many Canadians, support the view that there are special situations that can arise when the deliberate destruction of an innocent or unborn child's life should be permitted, but there is no circumstance that would justify the state in deliberately terminating the life of a convicted murderer. I can never accept the proposition that our laws should be geared to the protection of the lives of the guilty but not the innocent.

—THOMAS CAMPBELL  
Kawartha, Ont.

There are just two words to refute all of the arguments put forth by proponents of capital punishment in your 25th-anniversary issue: *nona*—Donald Marshall.

—PAUL FLORENT  
Burlington, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Most correspondence is held in the Editor's Office. If necessary, please include a return address. Please send SASEs, 177 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5H 1A7.

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## A struggle for vindication

Forced out of the White House nearly three years ago for allegedly accepting three watches and \$1,000 from Japanese business contacts, Richard V. Allen says that he remains bitter about what he calls "unsubstantiated" treatment by the media. President Ronald Reagan's former national security adviser, whom the U.S. justice department cleared in December, 1981, of any wrongdoing, declared this month that the press continues to "distort and mislead." But the upheaval in Allen's life has not seriously damaged his career or his personal life. He lives comfortably in a prosperous Virginia suburb, works at the conservative Heritage Foundation in Washington, and consults informally with Reagan administration staff.

Still, another load of controversy now dogged Allen. Last year he signed on as a lobbyist for a consortium of Japanese companies—including the giant Mitsubishi Corp. and the Bank of Tokyo Ltd.—which wanted to build a second Japanese Canal. His fee was \$305,000, and some officials in government have

questioned the propriety of a former administration official being on a foreign payroll. Allen denies that there is any conflict of interest, declaring that dozens of other public figures hold similar posts.

Allen's problems first began in November, 1981, when the Tokyo daily, *Yomiuri Shimbun*, reported that he had received \$1,000 from a Japanese woman's magazine. "But for helping to arrange a rare interview with Nancy Reagan. All first Allen denied the report, but he later said that he had 'intentionally' accepted the payment intended for the First Lady. According to Allen, in leaving the White House one of the Japanese thrust an envelope into the security adviser's hand. Allen claims that he did not realize the envelope was stuffed with cash until much later, and that he did not know what to do with it. The money, he



Allen: media attack hurt

felt, sat unused in a White House safe for almost a year and was turned over to the treasury after the IRS concluded its investigation. Allen unashamedly admits receiving the watches, but he says that he got them from friends before he joined the administration.

The media investigated the incident intensely. Television crews camped on Allen's front lawn, throwing microphones in front of his then-10-year-old daughter, and photographers climbed up trees to peer in his bedroom window. The scandal forced Allen to take an "administrative leave" which became permanent after Reagan decided that the brush with notoriety had made him an advisor a political liability. But Allen insists that the controversy was incidental to his departure.

Former secretary of state Alexander Haig's hostility toward Allen was legendary, and presidential counselor Edwin Meese, among others, sought to replace Allen. Still, the former adviser says that his unemployment ended in January, 1982, was "one of the best negative experiences a person could go through."

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(c) Don't know  
(d) Yes

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## Bourassa's comeback campaign



Bourassa and wife, Andrée, staying low and moving to avoid getting hit

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

A few weeks after Robert Bourassa's crushing defeat by the Parti Québécois in Quebec's November, 1978, provincial election, Brian Mulroney took his old friend to lunch at one of their favorite eateries—the private room of the tiny Chez Ben Pire restaurant on Montreal's Park Avenue—in order to console him. Mulroney was reciprocating an invitation that Bourassa, then Quebec premier, had extended to him just nine months earlier when he lost his first bid for the Progressive Conservative leadership. On that occasion, Bourassa did the bucking up over lunch at Montreal's venerable University Club. At the Chez Ben Pire, over Châteaufort and taffetas of cognac, Mulroney advised: "Give it up, Robert, you have got to give it up. In a few years, compared to these guys, you are going to look pretty good."

That advice proved to be apt. Bourassa quit the leadership of Quebec's Liberal party in 1976 in disgust, but just seven years later the party once again elected him leader in one of the most successful political comebacks in Canadian history. And as the night of the Tories' enormous victory in the Sept. 4 federal election, the new Prime Minister once

again seized an opportunity to encourage Bourassa. In a late-night telephone call, Mulroney told him, "I have won by big margins—and now it is your turn, Robert."

In his current pursuit of the Quebec premiership, Bourassa, 51, has taken advantage of the fact that he does not have a seat in the national assembly. He makes few major policy announcements and has delegated most of the routine organizational work of the 48-member Liberal caucus to House Leader Girard Lévesque. Free from the day-to-day responsibilities of an opposition leader, he spends most of his time touring Quebec's small towns, attending banquets and dispensing at colleges and service club luncheons. That approach, similar to Mulroney's when he was leader of the opposition, is designed to raise funds and to build strong local party organizations in preparation for a provincial election, which Premier René Lévesque must call before April, 1986. Said Mulroney's former lieutenant L. Ian MacDonnell, the author of a new book on the Quebec Liberal party entitled *From Bourassa to Bourassa: A Political Dynasty in Canada's History*: "Robert's strategy is to stay low, avoid getting hit, and keep moving."

As well as a new strategy, Bourassa has a new



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low-key style. When he was premier from 1970 to 1976, he surrounded himself with a retinue of aides, bodyguards, a chauffeur and even a personal hairdresser. Now, he has only one full-time aide, his devoted executive assistant, Jacqueline Brachet, who works out of the Liberal party's headquarters in east-end Montreal. When in Quebec City the Liberal leader stays at the economical Hotel Universel in suburban Ste-Foy. The motel is close to a pool at Laval university, where he swims 20 lengths each day that he is in the city.

Bourassa was only 36 when he became

premier. His friends, and even his political opponents, knew him to be charming and confident, but voters saw him as an emotional leader. Many political observers attributed his sudden image to a sense of insecurity because of his youth. Said Montreal Liberal backbencher John Cloutier, who studied Bourassa in public with Bourassa: "He used to be politically immature in some ways—and now he just became a man."

After taking a break from politics during which he taught economics in Belgium, France and the United States, Bourassa once again became involved

politically in late 1979 during preparation for the federal election against the May 1980 referendum on sovereignty association. He earned recognition as the leading expert on the fiscal chapter that an independent Quebec would face. On one occasion in January, 1980, he guided one of the 19's most eloquent speakers, Finance Minister Jacques Parizeau, into making the politically damaging statement that the price of independence for each Quebecer "would be about the cost of a case of beer a year." At the same time, Bourassa's willingness to travel and his work tirelessly for federalism earned him new respect from Liberals who had scorned him four years earlier.

When Bourassa decided to make his talent bid for the Liberal leadership, his family—his wife, Andrée, 51, and his two children, François, 35, and Michelle, 34—was reluctant to see him re-enter public life. Bourassa said that they feared his return to a position where he could once again become the object of distrust. Said Bourassa: "My wife told me that if it was what I wanted, she had no objection. But it obviously was not happy news for her." Bourassa easily won the October, 1980, Liberal leadership. Claude Ryan stepped down after failing to regain his party's confidence in the wake of the devastating election loss to the PQ in April, 1980.

Some people suggest that Bourassa has learned from the lessons of 1976. Said one close associate: "If anything, Robert has too small an entourage now. He is trying to show that none of those old charges are true. But with just one assistant, he does not have enough people to keep things sufficiently organized." As well, several newspapers have run editorials criticizing him for not seeking a national assembly seat, and the results of a poll conducted last month for the Quebec City daily *Le Soleil* showed that Liberal support in recent months has dropped 31 points, to 58 per cent from 89 per cent. Most of those former Liberal supporters shifted to the near-neighbour Union Nationale, whose support jumped to 38 per cent. The Liberal leader rejects suggestions that he alter his approach, pointing out that the party still leads the Parti Québécois by 35 per cent in the polls. Said Bourassa: "Our most important consideration is not where we stand now but what shape we will be in when the election is finally called."

Bourassa is well aware that his popularity rests largely on his party's belief that he can win. He is clearly involved in his political rebirth, working seven days a week. Declared Bourassa: "Politics is more than an occupation. It is a way of life for me." The next election will determine how long Robert Bourassa's vacation will last. ☐

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Q&A: JOHN TURNER

## Paving a long road back

John Turner has suffered the agonies of defeat after leading the Liberal party to a humiliating defeat. Why did he sell the election when he knew his party was behind in the polls? How does he propose to reverse his disappointed political troops? How long will he stay on? Maclean's Senior Contributing Editor Peter C. Newman interviewed Turner in Toronto.

**Maclean's:** If you had to do it over again, would you run for the Liberal leadership?

**Turner:** Trudeau really had not prepared for his succession. There was nobody in government, in his camp, who was a fair choice for leader. Gelin and I knew that because of that vacuum the pressure would be virtually irresistible—that I would have to accept the call. If one has been given the benefits of a good education, health and talent, and the ability to participate in public life, then I believe one has a duty to do it. That comes from my Catholicism, from my upbringing, from my Oxford education. But Gelin and I knew we would have to give up a great deal—one of the four or five best legal practices in the country, great opportunities, and ease, comfort and a great life ahead.

**Maclean's:** Surely the main importance of the Liberal party now is to prevent the kind of left-right polarization that is paralyzing British Columbia, not to survive England, France, West Germany and Italy.

**Turner:** Yes. That type of polarization makes economic growth difficult, because there is no stability for investment. Because of the swing from left to right, you have contradictions in terms of ideas and income levels. And if you recognize that type of polarization as a federation where we already have our centrifugal forces of region, of language, of culture, of geography, of religion and all economic interests, then you risk destroying the cohesion of the country. That is why it is so important that the Liberal party not disappear.

**Maclean's:** Do you believe that Brian Mulroney is a potential Liberal?

**Turner:** He will attempt to be, but he has a substantial minority of voters in his caucus. These Conservatives from Western Canada are not basically moderate Conservatives. A good deal of the party from Ontario is not his style of Conservatism. They were misled because they wanted to win. But now we are recognizing, the great question will now be whether they will be content with not having their ideas fulfilled when they

have a chance to govern. I tend to think that as the years go on in his mandate, Mulroney is going to have more trouble maintaining the position in which he originally would like to be.

**Maclean's:** How do you plan to take advantage of that?

**Turner:** My responsibility is to strike some roots provincially, especially in Western Canada. That will include campaigning for [Liberal Leader] David Peterson in Ontario, if I am invited. The classic provincial base that Mulroney King had, and which was spent by St. Laurent, Pearson and Trudeau, has got to be restored, and it is going to be a painstaking, difficult operation. There is also the role of opposition itself in Parliament. Mulroney's kind of majority demands good opposition, particularly when the government is also supported by seven provincial Conservative governments.

**Maclean's:** When you decided to run for the party leadership, you must have known that the Liberals had a very slim chance of winning an election.

**Turner:** On March 16, when I declared my candidacy for the leadership in Ottawa, we were 12 points behind in the polls. I knew that unless we got lucky, my job would be in opposition.

**Maclean's:** If that was the case, why did you not call the election?

**Turner:** I did not think our position would improve. There was a million



Turner, giving up back and comfort

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and a half people unemployed, and I would be taking the Queen around the country, and the Pope, and I would be filling while Rome burned, with no mandate, with no seat and with the country saying hey, there are more important tasks than ceremonial ones.

**Macdonald:** What about those would-be prime minister appointments? Why did you not insist that Trudeau make them himself?

**Turner:** If I had refused Trudeau's request to make the appointments upon calling the election, there would have been a difficult constitutional question for the Governor General. If he had made the appointments, there were so many MPs involved that I would have lost my majority, and we did not know at the time whether or not we were going to dissolve Parliament. I had to deal with the Queen's visit. There had to be a government of the country. Suppose it had not been convenient for the Queen to postpone her visit. I might have had to wait until after the Queen and the Pope because you could not have an election during their visits. We would have been in a November or December election. The margin of manoeuvrability that I inherited was minimal.

**Macdonald:** Would you not have at least been better prepared had you waited longer before calling an election?

**Turner:** I inherited a party without policy, without preparation, without money and without recruitment. I do not blame [party president] Jean Chagnon for that. The party was really run out of the Prime Minister's Office for the past number of years, and he was not given the scope to do anything. During 1982 the Tories raised \$14 million, the PCs raised \$8 million and the Liberals only \$6 million. We would not have been better prepared in October or November. Everybody would have taken the summer off. The Liberal party was only held together by a loyalty to Trudeau.

**Macdonald:** Presumably, you announced so few new policies during the campaign because you recognized the sad state of federal finances. Why blame Prime Minister Brian Mulroney now for not being able to turn the economy around?

**Turner:** Mulroney cannot get away with saying that he did not know the real situation. I told him what the total public debt was. I told him that it was coming to 30 cents on every tax dollar to service it. I said because of that, we would not promise anything that we could not find the funds for, either by reallocation or by tax. I believed that our priorities had to be small business and youth unemployment—those are desperate situations. Youth unemployment is now 30 per cent. We are ignoring the needs of close to a half generation of kids. So the employment policy that we presented during the campaign came from the reality. We went through it,



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**"A Heineken: that's exactly what I had in mind."**

cooled it, gave it a priority, found the funds for it and then we went with it. But we did not have it all in the bank, ready to go, as the Conservative party had. They had been preparing for an election for four years—and, by the way, Joe Clark had done a good deal of that preparation.

**Maclean's:** How will you rebuild the party when it has lost most of its big fish-tails, and the Tories enjoy the tremendous advantage of incumbency?

**Turner:** I have to reach out for a new generation of Liberals between 25 and 35 years old. We will most likely have a series of survivors, but my main job is to allow Liberals who have not been given a chance to flourish or stand for office to come forward. I do not know where the people who share my vision are, but they are out there. If I cannot attract them, my failure will be linked to the failure of the Liberal party, just as my success will be linked to its success. At the moment I cannot predict where the strategic terrain is going to be. We need progressive, moderate, centrist, compassionate people who share the historic centre ground of the Liberal party.

**Maclean's:** Door Smasher Keith Dowse agrees in your future plans?

**Turner:** Oh, sure. Keith will continue to be a strong player in the party, but he recognizes, as I do, that it has to be rebuilt by the next generation. He came in under difficult circumstances and did a commendable job. He put his reputation as the lion, knowing what the risks were. I admire that.

**Maclean's:** What about Mulroney? How were you friends at one time.

**Turner:** When one assumes an adversarial position, a friendship is difficult to nurture. But who can predict what will happen in politics? Certainly, the relationship was good.

**Maclean's:** Are you in this for the long term or will you eventually leave and go back to law?

**Turner:** I intend to stay as long as the party feels I am contributing to the cause. It is not a short-term, temporary assignment as far as I am concerned. The party has to be rebuilt—politically, structurally, mechanically, philosophically—and I intend to do that. That is clear and categorical.

**Maclean's:** What are your plans? Are you going to move to Ottawa?

**Turner:** I moved out of the Prime Minister's residence at St. James Drive on Sept. 17. I only had two suitcases there anyway—I never really moved in. The Mulroney's wanted some time to fix the residence up, so they did not move out of Stornoway, the official residence of the opposition leader right away. And then comes Christmas, so my family will likely wait until January to make the move. But meanwhile, I will be living mostly down there. ☐

## FOLLOW-UP

### A new law on life and death

A red-haired, blue-eyed girl, originally known only as Baby Jane Doe, celebrated her first birthday last month in New York, oblivious to the controversy her illness had stirred in high places in the United States. Last month her parents' decision not to operate to correct a severe spinal disorder prompted President Ronald Reagan to sign legislation that provides doctors with guidelines enabling them to determine when the withholding of medical treatment from a disabled infant constitutes child abuse. A year earlier two courts had upheld her parents' right to refuse surgery aimed at prolonging the severely handicapped child's life. On April 5, Baby Doe was well enough to go home for the first time. Declared her 16-year-old mother, "Everyone wants to hold her. She is a family treasure."

When the baby, whose real name is Keri-Lynn, was born on Oct. 11 last year suffering from an incomplete closure of the spine, six physicians at the hospital, St. Mary's Hospital in Stony Brook, N.Y., advised differing opinions on her medical treatment. One specialist recommended operations to close her exposed spine—a procedure known as spina bilda. A second neurologist argued against surgery, even though he admitted that would likely mean Baby Doe would die by the age of 2. Baby Doe's parents, divided against any major surgery.

Within three days of their decision, made the day the baby was born, an anonymous caller informed lawyer Lawrence Washburn, 48, of Danvers, Vt., about the case. Washburn, the father of a handicapped 13-year-old son, and a campaigning right-to-life advocate, saw in a state court to force the hospital to operate. In two New York appellate courts, in November, 1983, the parents successfully argued that as no one had the right to intervene. When the court's decision had concluded, Baby Doe was six weeks old. In March, to make her more comfortable, doctors drained fluid from her head. Her mother declared, "Keri-Lynn is not in pain."

More important in the broader context was the fact that the bill Reagan signed defined when doctors may or may not withhold treatment from severely disabled infants—a step that will, at least, aid in the parents' decision-making process. ☐

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## FOLLOW-UP

# A Soviet sports mystery

By Ann Walmsley

Alexander Belov, the seven-foot, four-inch Soviet basketball player, was only 21 when he scored the winning points in the team's gold-medal victory at the 1972 Olympics in Munich. He died six years later. Valipa Ryshchenska, a Soviet canoeist who, at 26, captured a gold medal at the same Games, died less than a year after her victory. Belov and Ryshchenska are just two of 28 Soviet athletes who have died unexpectedly and often mysteriously in the past 25 years, according to a U.S.-Ukrainian group and a respected British journal. Since reports of the deaths last summer, some sports physicians and Soviet affairs experts have offered explanations, but many others remain baffled. Said John Harrow, a Washington-based author who has written two books on the KGB, the Soviet secret police: "There is no obvious reason why they should die in these numbers."

The revolutions in the deaths came from the Washington-based Stenokopyev Organization for the Defense of Human Rights in the Ukraine and the British-based Foreign Report. The Economist magazine's persistent international affairs segment, Vladimir Kikla, a New York-based correspondent for the Soviet news agency, Tass, confirmed three or four of the deaths in August. And North American sports doctors say that a number of the deaths may have been caused by abuse of anabolic steroids and other performance-enhancing drugs. According to Dr. Robert Voy, chief medical officer for the U.S. Olympic committee, steroids are now known to cause the growth of malignant tumors and life-threatening, blood-filled cysts in the liver. Said Voy: "This could be the time-bomb effect of steroids."

Still, sports doctors say the political motives behind Stenokopyev's release of the list of dead athletes cannot be ignored. The 1,000-member Ukrainian group has lobbied the International Olympic Committee unsuccessfully for years to allow its eastern athletes to compete independently of the Soviet team. Significantly, it released information on the athletes' deaths to the press in Los Angeles last Aug. 2—just five days after the opening of the Summer Games in that city. And while Foreign Report refused to reveal its sources, Stenokopyev's vice-president, Gapp Zinkewych, told Madras that his group received the list of the premature deaths from athletes inside the Soviet

Union who were disgruntled over their country's boycott of the 1984 Olympics. Said Zinkewych: "The athletes and coaches were very frustrated."

Stenokopyev's list of dead athletes includes 26 Olympic gold medalists and numerous well-known competitors in fields ranging from fencing to hockey.

The youngest was Nelli Gorkhitykova, a 20-year-old Soviet field hockey player and bronze-medal winner in the 1960 Olympics, who died in August, 1983; the oldest, silver medalist Mykhailo Novak, a weightlifter, died in 1980 at 61.

Conflicting stories surrounding the deaths of several of the athletes underscore Stenokopyev's contention that the Soviets are attempting to hide the true causes of the deaths. At least three versions for the death of Belov have emerged. Alexander Palladia, the Washington correspondent for the Soviet daily, Izvestia, told Madras that

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Belov died of "excess of the bones or something", PAPA's Kriks recalled "some kind of heart attack maybe", and Dr. Andrew Pipe, a sports doctor in Ottawa who knew of Belov, heard that he died in a car accident. The explanations are as numerous as the 1973 death of Ukrainian long-distance runner Viktor Kuts. Different answers say, variously, that he died at 46 of a heart attack, tuberculosis or a physiological reaction to a sudden halt in training.

Richard Luttwak, a stringer affairs specialist at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C., advanced the most bizarre explanation for some of the deaths. According to Luttwak, the Olympic athletes may have died in the service of Spetsnaz, a special force of clandestine spies and saboteurs operated by the Soviet Military Intelligence Service. In return for free physical training, most Soviet athletes join sporting clubs run by the Central Army and the KGB. The Central Army Sporting Club is, according to Viktor Kriks, a professional Soviet army officer who defected to the West and who writes under a pseudonym, a front for Spetsnaz. Luttwak maintained that some Spetsnaz units are now fighting Soviet rebels in Afghanistan.

Other sources familiar with the Soviet sports system rejected the Spies-and-Foreign-Sport-accounts. Said Eugene Pridgen, a spokesman for the Soviet Embassy in Ottawa: "Fifty-one deaths in 25 years is nothing—two a year. I think it is all fabricated." Maslud Dezhnev, a pioneer in drug testing at Cologne's Federal Institute for Sports Research in West Germany, and the evidence is so incomplete that "no part of the world is in a position to accept the other part," said Markel Baum, editor of the California-based magazine *Soviet Sports News*, claims that it is wrong to conclude the deaths are drug-related. He cited the low death rate in East Germany, where female Olympic swimmers admitted to using steroids over a period of years.

So far, the Soviet government has made no comment on the revelations and it will likely never reveal the true causes of the mysterious deaths. That Western sports doctors say that the Spies-and-Foreign-Sport-revelations could convince coaches and athletes of the lethal potential of the use of drugs in training. Said Vay: "This has opened the eyes of the world and is a message for us all to do some studies on athletes in the United States." For now, the claims are more likely to fuel the propaganda war between the Soviets and the West than to break up the arrangement of drugs and sport.

With William Lowther in Washington.

## AN AMERICAN VIEW

# Of science and broken hearts

By Fred Branning

The similarity between the heart of a baboon and that of a human is remarkable, let the cretinelets say what they will. Each organ is supplied blood by a vessel (the superior vena cava). Each has four chambers, each an artery to accommodate the flow of blood back to the body. In the biology textbooks, at least, the human heart is shown as having a septum dividing left and right ventricles, and that, too, is the case with the baboon.

Comparisons of the two have become noteworthy because in California recently nature went badly awry and a child was born with a heart severely deficient in standard equipment. The septum and left ventricle were rudimentary—hypoplastic left heart syndrome, in medical terms—and, burdened by such an odd configuration, the organ could not perform its most fundamental task: Life expectancy for the child was two weeks, maybe less.

Physicians at Loma Linda University Medical Center near Los Angeles decided to perform a xenotransplant—to discard the useless human heart and replace it with one from a baboon. A risky procedure, to say the least, but then, so hospital officials subsequently pointed out, everything is relative. "Even if the baby dies tomorrow, it has been better off," said hospital spokesman Dr. Jack Provencher. "The community has been better off." As for a prognosis, the experts were not sure, depending, of course, on the results of the operation.

Now the question arises: Did doctors act in the best interests of patient and parent? Were physicians forthright in discussing alternative procedures, potential side effects, the history of Loma Linda's Hospital Center, and the hospital's reputation for xenotransplants? Was the operation as much an attempt to bend as a bid to advance scientific inquiry? Who was running things—agents of mercy or some kind of surgical overkill?

The child's mother has expressed confidence in the surgeons—and in the facility's decision to authorize a xenotransplant. "We feel we were done right for her," said the unnamed woman in a prepared statement. Hospital authorities made the remarkable promise last week to continue to work hard to understand by the infant's parents prior to the operation. Unable to examine these documents, outsiders cannot determine what information the family had and what it lacked. Reporters have found out the truth, however the operation could

leave Baby Pac, as the anonymous child is known, with an immunological problem similar to AIDS, a less radical procedure that involves requiring—not replacing—the imperfect organ might have been attempted, there was a remote possibility that a human heart might have become available for Baby Pac, as usual in Loma Linda's experimental transplant program has survived more than six months after receiving a heart from a donor of another species, in the past 80 years doctors have placed human implanted hearts in adult patients. Each operation was a failure.

Let us recall at this juncture that, for all its rhetoric of orderliness, science can be an ultimate force. Cheaters are almost always outwitted, and, of course, the most dedicated researcher may, at one moment, be too reluctant, the next too bold. At Loma Linda, when the time came for a decision on Baby

## 'The most important consideration is not whether a baboon loses its heart but whether a child gains'

Pac, stout spirits prevailed. If the surgeons had doubts, they put them aside. The moment was ripe.

Yet in the view of some, proceeding full-forward was unwise, barely, even selfish. "These scientists were geared up for very important piece of a personal research, and that in all that seemed important to them," said Ronald Bayer of the Hospital Center, who lives outside New York City. Critics have suggested, too, that because Loma Linda is owned and operated by the Seventh-day Adventist Church, surgeons found themselves in a distorted atmosphere and did not entertain enough contrary opinion. But spokesman Provencher says that the hospital's sense of community made the physicians "more secure." He added, "It took that to truly be a creative individual who is willing to take risks you have to have an element of security."

The fallow is right. You need a good-sized dose of confidence and a whole of a trust in technology, too. Americans qualify on both scores. Do we ever. Around here we have come to believe that all odds can be overcome, the

most formidable adversaries vanquished. Extending life has become no less a cultural imperative than developing a longer-range rocket or a better doped stadium. We are looking for ways to prepackage immortality. Certainly, you cannot buy it.

Now the discussion goes a step further. There are those who object to the Baby Pac operation not because the medical turn pursued its course too aggressively but because the life of an animal was sacrificed in the process. Anti-vivisectionists fear that baboons eventually will be matched away for this or that medical adventure—a slaughter they consider cruel and unnecessary. Says Arthur I. Caplan, also of the Hospital Center: "It would be wrong to stir up a moral issue, but we have used every human organ."

According to the latest figures from Atlanta's Centers for Disease Control, there is, in fact, a glottis-sized mass of human organs that could be used for transplant operations, about 800 as an estimation to make them available. Some 20,000 stricken Americans were enrolled in brain dead in 1983, according to the Atlanta institution, but only 15 per cent committed their organs to science. Scientists look for ways to use to operate. Animals lack freedom of choice.

But even when do we care? This remains a mystery, after all, that thrives on Big Mums, hot dogs, hamburger, frank steaks, stuffed pork chops, and permegians and pig knosher. Capital consequences itself are imposed upon on mass of choices.

Dr. Leonard Bailey, who performed the operation on Baby Pac, says that when he first saw the twin who was to survive—a child or a baboon—there is no choice at all. "We see other things to continue to let these otherwise healthy human babies because they are born with only half of their heart or we can intervene and, so, in doing, sacrifice some human life but our own species." Of course, the most important consideration is not whether a baboon loses its heart but whether, as a result, a child gains significantly in its battle for life. Hospital officials say each dawn represents another victory. But those who note the baby's ordeal, and the parents' anguish are not so sure. "Victory, they ask? Victory for whom?"

Fred Branning is a writer with *Newsday* in New York.



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# Edging toward austerity

By Carol Goar

The week began with optimism and ended in a flurry of pious tags. On Nov. 5 Gov. Gen. Jeanne Sauvé, dressed in flowing purple velvet, presided solemnly down the aisle of a hushed Senate chamber to open the country's 33rd Parliament. As she took her place in the Speaker's chair to read the new Conservative government's speech from the throne, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, wearing a smoking coat, took his place at her side. Then, three days later in the Commons chamber, the Prime Minister again spoke with relief as Finance Minister Michael Wilson unveiled the Tories' economic plan in Wilson's case, hard-pressed details of future spending cuts replaced the lofty platitudes that are the staple of throne speeches. Declared Mulroney later: "The government has started to put its house in order. These are the first steps in a new national action program."

It was a week in which Canadians were able to catch an initial glimpse of the direction that the new government intends to pursue. The throne speech contained pledges of less government in the affairs of the nation. There was also a call for a fundamental review of basic tenets of Canadian society. For his part, Wilson outlined as ambitious austerity campaign that aims to end the soaring federal deficit. The minister's midday speech explicitly proclaimed what the Mulroney government had already stated at cabinet: that controlling the federal deficit, not creating jobs, was the top priority (page 16). Wilson did not announce a single new job creation program, although he intimated that "expanding employment and creating new opportunities is at the

heart of our program for national economic renewal." National pessimism first, however, is the forerunner of an increase in the price of gasoline last weekend of about 25 cents, a litre Canadian oil prices are now about 98 per cent of the world level.

Treasury Board President Robert de

Lothian announced to employers for on-the-job training.

Since the Mulroney government came to power last September, it has committed only \$134 million to new job creation initiatives. Complained Opposition Leader John Turner: "The Prime Minister promised jobs, jobs, jobs. And what did we get? Cuts, cuts, cuts."

A finance department source told *Maclean's* that the Wilson measures expected to cost 50,000 jobs. Virtually every Canadian will be hit, even if only in minor ways, by the Wilson "cuts," which will take effect in the next fiscal year beginning April 1. And despite the effort, Wilson acknowledged, the overall federal deficit will continue to rise. His plans to reduce the growth of federal outlays next year include an \$80-million reduction in next year's \$600-million budget of the Canadian Broadcasting Corp. Among measures to gain revenue, couples seeking a divorce will be charged a \$20 clearance fee. In the meantime, the best Wilson could pledge for the present fiscal year was a deficit of \$44.4 billion on total spending of just over \$109 billion—a fall \$5 billion more than his predecessor Marc Lévesque projected last February. Next year's deficit will rise to \$39.9 billion, Wilson said, but it would have topped \$73 billion without his changes.

One problem in gauging the economic impact of the Wilson measures is that next year's budget has not been established. His calculation of the deficit measures the expected effect of his plans rather than showing the gap between next year's revenue and outlays. But Wilson made it clear that the measures he announced last week were merely a start. "We went as far as we could in the short time available," he

explained. "Further action will be required." So that end, the government is embarking on a major review of the country's foreign aid program, its unemployment insurance system, its housing programs and its massive transfer payments to the provinces, which support health care costs and welfare payments.

The Wilson measures outlined the strategy in a 115-page document paper, "A New Direction for Canada," that is bound to provoke intense debate in the Commons and is the action in the months to come. Wilson proposed a wide-ranging consultative approach to be taken, as he put it, "All Canadians will be

matter of Ottawa's role in the affairs of the business world, the document declared. "Government has become too big."

One of the most controversial issues was the government's stance on the universal application of social programs. Last summer, during the election campaign, Mulroney termed university-tuition allowances and pensions for all—"a sacred trust not to be tampered with." Last week Wilson said that the government wants to ensure that federal benefits go to those who really need assistance. "We will examine our child benefits, old-age security and unemployment insurance systems to see

how they may be improved," he stated. Liberal Leader Turner said the anti-budget contains his suspicions. "There was a hidden agenda despite the rhetoric of the election."

Wilson said he would save about \$2.2 billion in federal program cuts and cancellations next year, \$700 million by bearing down on the government's own operations and hiring, plus a further \$650 million by reducing income tax Corporation. New revenue of \$752 mil-

lion will be generated by charging more for government services, he said. The list of cuts and deferrals of spending included cancellations of the 1986 census, a one-year delay in the construction of Canada's new \$2-billion embassy in Washington, which was scheduled to start next year, a \$250-million reduction in the federal Petroleum Incentives Program, which stimulates oil and gas exploration, and cancellations of the \$100-million federal summer job program for students next year.

As well, five foreign missions will be closed (a projected saving of \$10 million), although officials refused to divulge the specific sites on grounds that the diplomatic network had not yet been informed. Next March, Ottawa will terminate the oil substitution program, which assists homeowners to convert from oil to electricity or natural gas (saving \$96 million). The government plans to dramatically change the Crown corporation set up last year to promote agricultural exports (\$7 million), and Canamark Inc., a subsidiary of Petro-Canada, which invests in conservation and renewable energy projects (\$40 million). There will also be reductions in the grants offered to homeowners to insulate their homes.

Before his Commons statement Wilson made it clear that he planned no income tax increases. But the government will legislate the one-per-cent increase in federal sales tax that went into effect on Oct. 1. As well, consumers and corporations will have to pay more for a range of government services. Via Rail fares will rise, while airline passengers will have to spend more to perk their ears at federal airports and pay a higher tax on plane tickets. Workers and their employers also will be expected to contribute more to the Unemployment Insurance Fund next year. Starting Jan. 1, the contribution rate for employers will increase to \$2.35 per \$100 of earnings from the current \$2.00, and the employer's rate will increase to \$3.20 from the current \$3.25.

Displaying a flair for public relations, Wilson announced that the Prime Minister's salary will be cut by 15 per cent starting Jan. 1 and that the salaries of all cabinet ministers will decrease by 10 per cent. "At a time when Canadians are being asked to accept reductions in government programs and services, it is appropriate that cabinet and Parliament also contribute," Wilson noted. The cabinet ministers' salaries will be cut by 10 per cent in the tax-free allowances and other perquisites. That means that Mulroney's total compensation will drop \$46,880 to \$222,940, while ministerial pay will de-



Sauvé reading the throne speech: a focus on debt and recovery



Mulroney with Wilson: a well-lighting message for trouble

affected. "While the paper only outlined the action, the implication was that Canada's entire social welfare system—as well as federal regulations governing the conduct of commerce—was up for review. Among the specific areas cited in the paper: benefits for children, unemployment assistance, minimum wage law, maternity benefits, subsidized housing, universal old-age security benefits and industrial support and finance programs. On the

how they may be improved," he stated. Liberal Leader Turner said the anti-budget contains his suspicions. "There was a hidden agenda despite the rhetoric of the election."

Wilson said he would save about \$2.2 billion in federal program cuts and cancellations next year, \$700 million by bearing down on the government's own operations and hiring, plus a further \$650 million by reducing income tax Corporation. New revenue of \$752 mil-



more by \$3,000 to \$207,800. Clearly, the total saving of \$227,800 was never symbolic than significant.

As well as clever short-termism, the Tories took advantage of fortuitous circumstances. Although the government claimed to have cut the country's foreign aid budget by \$100 million, in fact spending is calculated as a percentage of the country's total dollar output—and the gross national product, which measures that output, was smaller than anticipated. The reduction, therefore, was automatic. Similarly, the Tories took credit for a \$455-million drop in defense spending, that the country's NATO commitment is also calculated as a percentage of gross national product.

But for all the sleight of hand, the government proposed to do little about the massive deficit inherited from the past. Lalonde had boasted, when he tabled his last budget last February, that he had managed to keep the deficit below the reported prebudgetary balance of \$30 billion. But the former finance minister based his projection on an assumption that the prime interest rate, which was then running at 11 per cent, would remain relatively stable. Instead, interest rates soared as the United States economy collapsed into a terrifyingly abrupt recovery. By June the prime rate had risen to 12.5 per cent. The surge did irreparable damage to Lalonde's calculations.

The federal government's debt charges ballooned by an untold \$1 billion. Not only did interest rates rise, the Canadian dollar plunged. That meant as extra \$850 million had to be spent to pay for oil imported into Eastern Canada. Those outlays, combined with a variety of other new and costly expenses, pushed the level of federal spending to \$205 billion and the 1984-85 deficit to \$24 billion. Declared Wilson: "That is bad enough, but that is not the worst of it. Current projections show the deficit increasing next year to more than \$27 billion and remaining between \$24 and \$28 billion in every year for the rest of this decade."

Wilson's first budget in the spring—was by his extensive austerity measures—will have virtually no impact on the current deficit. The finance minister expects the government to spend \$24.6 billion more than it takes in this year. But the finance minister pledged that within five years the Tories will reduce federal spending by \$10 to \$15 billion.

Still, Wilson managed to fulfill several of Mulroney's campaign pledges. The government will extend the spouse's allowance program to all widowers between 60 and 64 years of age, starting next autumn. Women's groups had urged Mulroney to offer relief to the approximately 85,000 citizens—mostly



Broadbent (below), de Coler, presiding official midweek



women—who were just short of retirement age when their spouses died. Veterans' pensions are also being improved. As well, the government will offer farmers, fishermen and loggers relief from high fuel prices. Rightist calls of removing the federal sales tax, as Mulroney vowed to do last autumn, the Tories have decided to offer a tax rebate of three cents per litre from now until the beginning of 1991.

Beyond these limited relief measures, the finance minister mainly offered studies, reviews and consultations with business, labor and the professions. Among past commitments that now will be reviewed:

**Taxation of income:** Although Mulroney undertook during the election campaign to end capital gains taxes on farmers who wish to leave their land in agricultural production, the government has now decided to set up a parliamentary committee to review the matter.

**Taxation of the wealthy:** Mulroney centered himself to a minimum tax on the wealthy during the campaign. But the government has now decided to undertake a "thorough review of the system."

**The Income Tax Act:** As opposition leader, Mulroney called repeatedly for the reform of the cumbersome statute. His government has now decided to issue a discussion paper on the matter early next year. "Consultation will pave the way for major improvements in this vital area," said Wilson.

The ambitious projects signalled that last week's midweek was the manifesto of a government with a comfortable majority and ample time to implement its plans. "Some Canadians may well be daunted by the fundamental nature and broad sweep of this undertaking," Wilson acknowledged. "The agenda which we bring forward tonight represents a roadmap for a challenge and rewarding future."

The finance minister's harsh prescriptions offered a stark contrast to Mulroney's vague but soothing three speech three days earlier. In 1984-85, the 35-term message read by Mulroney, talking for "a new era of national reconciliation, economic renewal and social justice," was all but eclipsed by the popularity that surrounded it. The Governor General drew up to the Pacifican Building under a light drizzle in a limousine to open the 100th Parliament. The puffed Benoit Chamber, when she delivered the three speech, resembled a blizzard on Christmas Eve, with ministers' wives sitting primly in hats and pearls while the three Mulroney children pined and fought over a pair of open glasses, behaving like any other kids in the winter's policy.

Traditionally, a three speech does

little more than signal the government's priorities. And following that routine, Mulroney straddled a legislative program replete with inspirational phrases that were utterly devoid either of surprise or specifics. He forewarned Wilson's statement by stressing the importance of reducing the federal deficit. He reiterated his election pledge to convene a national economic summit of business, labor, government and interest groups next spring. And he promised measures to improve the lot of women,

affirm only mediation, contemplation, rumination and, most of all, bastion. For his part, New Democratic Party Leader Mc Broadbent said that "a set of Conservative buzzwords" had replaced "a set of Liberal buzzwords."

Still, distractions and lady wheels are the currency of those speeches. Only 11 months ago, in his government's last three speech, former prime minister Pierre Trudeau called for "a national partnership for prosperity." Like Mulroney, he pledged to create jobs, pro-



Former with wife, Genie, 's hidden agenda despite the election rhetoric'

cessioners, native people and his own 170 back-bench MPs. Above all, the speech heralded "this historic opportunity to overcome past divisions in the country and to purge the spirit of self-doubt from the conduct of the nation's affairs."

To that end, the government established eight studies, two parliamentary task forces, two comprehensive examinations and three policy reviews, covering everything from day care to defense spending. The critics immediately—and predictably—denounced the three speech as a litany of platitudes and delaying tactics. Declared Turner: "It

made international trade, overhaul the prison system, rewrite the Criminal Code and begin regular economic consultations with business and labor."

Mulroney turned to three generations of Conservative speedwalkers for help in drafting the speech. A senior member of the group was Thomas Van Dusen, 63, who served as executive assistant to John Diefenbaker in the 1960s. The others were Senator Lowell Murray, 44, who wrote many of Joe Clark's speeches when he was prime minister, and Mulroney's policy advisors, Charles McMillan, 38, and Geoff Norquay, 31.

One commitment on which Mulroney

acted almost immediately was to set up a permanent task force that will examine ways to give ordinary MPs a greater role in governing. Within two days of the three speech, he named James McGrath, a veteran parliamentarian, to chair the committee. But before the committee could even begin work for weeks on the project, William Jarvis, a former MP now working for Deputy Prime Minister Rick Nielsen, had been exploring useful tasks for the party's 170 back-benchers. He recommended that the government create task forces and caucus committees to supplement the existing House of Commons committees and he argued that parliamentary reform be treated as a top priority. "We don't want another experience like 1985," he warned, recalling the disenchantment that spread through the party under Diefenbaker. Mulroney's first undertaking to Parliament was to "reinforce the role of the private member." Government House Leader Rex Hunsbys had his own definition of the challenge: "I want to banish the term back-bencher from the language," he told Mulroney.

It took little more than a cursory glance around the House of Commons to confirm how fundamentally Parliament had changed. In the last House there were 50 new faces. Now there are 116 freshmen. There are more than 25 women, compared to 15 in the last House. The new House is also marginally younger, with an average age of about 45, compared to 48 in the previous one. And even the history of parliamentarianism is being rewritten. In the last House, lawyers still dominated, holding one out of every four seats. But a new force has come to the center of the stage. The proportion of businessmen has shot up to 11 per cent from 12 per cent. Wilson, himself a former investment executive, epitomized the new force of government. "Change went on," he invited. "The old ways of doing things have not worked."

That is a lesson that even fervent Tories must still learning this week. Thomas Minister Thomas McMillan was no longer to begin the new session of Parliament that he strode briskly into the House of Commons opposition lounge, which he has now seen his election. In 1978, after he retained the mandate, the 39-year-old minister walked across to the governing lobby—only to discover that many of his Conservative colleagues were still virtual strangers. And the familiar, worn green chairs had been re-upholstered in dark white brocade. "It's like walking into your own living room and finding all the furniture moved around," said McMillan. Last week a similar situation existed throughout the country as dawn broke on a new era of Tory rule. □

# A new debt doctor tests his remedies

By Mary Janigan

**T**he investment dealer and his prospective client sat 50 stories above the splendor of Hong Kong when the dealer made his pitch. Bring your money to Canada, urged Michael Wilson, then executive vice-president at Toronto's prestigious Dominion Securities Ltd. The creditor was unimpressed. Admittedly, he told Wilson, Hong Kong was driven to prosper by its wise and hard work while Canada has resources, food and high educational standards. Then the Hong Kong financier added: "But I am sure if you can give me something it is as good as you are." Wilson later recalled "That stopped me cold. And afterward I said to myself, maybe now is an good a time as any to get into politics."

Two years after that 1977 visit to the Far East, Wilson launched his political career as the fledgling MP for the Toronto riding of St. Lawrence Centre and as a minister of state for international trade in Joe Clark's Conservative government. Seven years later he is Canada's minister of Finance—a traditional line-of-duty craftsman who plods while other colleagues sparkle under the Canadian lights. On the surface, Wilson's progression from Toronto's Upper Canada College (through the world of business to the powerful portfolio he now holds) is almost as predictable as his credentials. But the man is intriguing because he has managed to grow beyond the limits of his upbringing and his business-oriented vision. As he wrestles today with the twin demons of high deficits and high unemployment, he is not likely to inspire—but he may surprise Canadians.

"Before, back in the mid-1970s, it was strictly business and gold," commented Ben Ingpin, the president of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce. "He was a partner of Wilson's at Dominion Securities. But if you want to paint him with a Bay Street stripe new, you will be mistaken. He still plays golf, he still remembers where he came from—but he is also aware of the needs of all his constituents now and he has acquired a sense of political prudence."

Wilson's family background made him a natural candidate for the world of commerce and finance. His father, Murray Holmberg Wilson, was the president of the Toronto-based National Trust Co. Born on Nov. 4, 1907, in Toronto, Wilson proceeded from Upper Canada College to a Bachelor of Commerce degree at the University of Toronto and then, in 1941, to the investment firm of Harris and

Partners Ltd. In 1944 he opted for a two-year contract with the debt management branch of the federal finance department and posted up a chance to attend Harvard Business School. By 1966 he was back in Toronto at Harris and became a vice-president in 1972. When the firm merged with Dominion Securities—now Dominion Securities



Wilson: steady and understated

Ames Ltd.—he became the executive vice-president principally involved in corporate finance. Roghays remembers that Wilson supervised all of the firm's purchases and sales of securities—a multimillion-dollar chore.

But Wilson yearned for even larger challenges. As a junior minister in the 15-fisted Clark government, he was respected, right wing, and seriously ill. It took four years in opposition—as energy critic when the Liberal government launched the controversial National Energy Program and as finance critic when

the recession hit—to temper his politics and polish his profile. Then, last year, Wilson sought the Tory party leadership, placed a distant fourth and threw his support behind Brian Mulroney. Prime Minister Mulroney returned the favor by giving Wilson the finance portfolio. The new minister is no star. And while he is intelligent, he is not an intellectual like former finance minister Marc Lalonde. Colleagues praise Wilson's "straightness" and his methodical and pragmatic approach to problems. He marshals his facts and figures and his sense of timing with impressive simplicity. He argues his case. He is still to the right of most of his colleagues and privately would like to end such ceremonial social payments as family allowances.

But he has a surprising streak of social conscience. During last year's Conservative leadership race, for example, he said that unemployment insurance payments should continue indefinitely in areas where unemployment was above 10 per cent. And he has passionately committed to the idea of "good government." Said a former associate: "The recession changed him more than anyone, because suddenly he had to deal with unemployed youngsters and that went beyond a strictly business outlook. He had to look for answers—and he grew to like the challenge."

In private, Wilson is approachable, generous and family-oriented. He and his wife, Margaret, have three teenage children, and the family has spent its summers on Prince Edward Island beaches, at Western riding ranches or on the 100-acre Wilson farm north of Toronto. As a hobby he tinkers with his old house in Ottawa's posh Rockcliffe Park Village. He also plays a competitive game of squash and logs the results. And he is a member of the Tory Order's 15th Parliament of Excellence and devours non-fiction journals. Two nights before his birthday, two weeks ago, Wilson stopped a Friday night Tory caucus dinner party in Ottawa and worked all night on his economic statement.

But Wilson's staff presented him with 20 lb. of his favorite black peaches—along with a supply of dental floss, a toothbrush and toothpaste. Toronto Donald Binkley, the Tory MP for Mississauga South: "He is soft spoken, unassuming, a very good businessman who tries to put everyone at ease. I don't picture Mike fighting on the beaches. He is no Churchill. But he is a hell of a good manager—and I suspect that is what the country wants now." ☐



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# Wrestling with the deficit

By Carol Gear

The ritual has become familiar. Each time a new finance minister takes over, he pledges he will reduce the federal deficit. But the gap between promises and spending has grown slowly and steadily wider. Five years ago the deficit stood at \$10 billion. This year it has swollen to \$16.6 billion. Last week Michael Wilson became the latest in a long line of finance ministers to declare boldly, "We have begun to reduce the deficit." The lucky 61-year-old former investment executive sounded earnest and confident—like many of the finance ministers who have preceded him. If history is any guide, the country's \$169-billion national debt will continue to balloon relentlessly. But Wilson insists the new government can reverse that trend, with the help of a maneuverable Prime Minister, a supportive business community and a population yearning for change. In the process, Canadians are likely to witness one of the most stimulating economic debates in recent history.

Last week's financial statement was little more than a shuffling of things to come. Over the course of its mandate the Conservative government plans to examine every facet of government spending, from old-age pensions to federal assistance to noncompetitive industries. It intends to make major tax changes, perhaps introducing a minimum tax, with no loopholes—for the rich as early as next April. It will consider selling off any Crown corporation that does not serve a clear public function.

Wilson has ruled out the CIO's "Obviously, these things are very sensitive," the finance minister admitted late last week. "If we made these decisions today I don't think that the response would be good, but with public debate there will be a much greater understanding of the reasons for this decision."

Wilson does not question the conventional wisdom that the deficit must be cut, and he gives three reasons for his conviction. For one thing, Wilson argues, the deficit ties up so many tax dollars in interest payments that the government loses its capacity to set its own spending priorities. For another, the government drives up interest rates by competing for billions of borrowed dollars in the financial markets. Finally, a huge deficit leads foreigners to question the reliability of the country as a safe place for investment.

Deficits are a familiar phenomenon. In 1867, when Canada became a nation, the federal government inherited a debt of \$75.7 million from its four former provinces. And during its first year of operation, the young dominion recorded a deficit of \$26.44¢—but apart from wartime, the country lived more or less within its means until the mid-1930s. Each year

the federal government would tailor its spending plans to the amount of revenue it expected to take in, and the difference—which ranged from a surplus of \$496 million in 1909 to a \$1.3-billion shortfall in 1937—would be left on the books as the public debt. By March 31, 1974, the total accumulated debt since Confederation was \$35 billion. Since that time the public debt has expanded annually. This year the accumulated debt is expected to reach \$106 billion. And, with no change in policy, it would soar to \$140 billion by 1980, Wilson has predicted.

Apologizing to economists for oversimplifying the deficit debate, Wilson explained the government's reluctance to the predicament of an individual who continually borrows more money than he can pay back. But the analogy is only partly accurate. A government that is investing in buildings and bridges or supporting the elderly is clearly different from a spendthrift who borrows money to finance his restaurant meals and holidays. As well, the selling of government bonds—the main vehicle for federal borrowing—has become an essential feature of the country's money markets, a part of life that the government neither could, nor would wish to, disrupt.

In spite of those flaws, there is an important parallel between the charge-card-buys consumer and the debt-ridden government. Both are in serious trouble when they have to borrow money solely to pay the interest charges on their outstanding loans. And the Canadian government is approaching that juncture. This year old debts eat up every dollar of extra cash at every department. The year-old debts are so large that the government is being used to cover interest payments. "This will rise to more than 76 per cent in 1979," Wilson declared last week. "We believe we must act now to avoid a future crisis."

But Michael McCracken, of Information Canada, an Ottawa-based economic forecasting agency, contends that the problem is easily exaggerated. "It makes sense at this stage for the government to be running a deficit," he told McCracken's after Wilson's statement. "I would have advocated a deliberate increase in the deficit to look-stare the economy and create jobs so we can grow our way out of the hole we are in." That is the kind of argument with which Wilson will have to deal as he sets out on his deficit-cutting crusade. McCracken maintains that the current deficit of \$16.6 billion represents so much, as a proportion of the country's total economic output, than did the much smaller deficits of earlier years.

Statistics that measure the magnitude of the deficit are misleading, Finance department records show that five years ago the deficit represented just 4.3 per cent of the gross national product. This year it is expected to run 6.3 per cent



Wilson making his statement, Mulroney (center) a problem of arithmetic that involves making sacrifices now to avoid crisis

of GNP. But those comparisons are flawed. In any economic downturn, such as the 1980-81 slump, the private sector becomes in depression. That the government's share of total economic activity appears unimpaired.

Still, as government spending cuts begin to affect taxpayers directly, Canadians may lose their apparent enthusiasm for Wilson's new era of restraint. Clearly, his sacrifices will not lead to lower taxes, nor will Wilson be able to offer taxpayers any short-term rewards for co-operating in Ottawa's deficit-cutting exercise. The only payoff that the government can offer is the prospect of a healthier economy in the future. And that was the case that the finance minister made in his economic statement.

There is a possibility that Canadians may rebel when they realize how deeply Wilson intends to cut. At a post-budget press lunch, a journalist asked the finance minister whether there was any hope of containing the deficit without slowing down vital allowances, old-age pensions and transfer payments to the provinces. Wilson waited a long time before answering. "No," he finally replied. "That's why everything is on the table. The bullet has to be taken."

Done with good will and no more resolve Wilson's project would fail if the United States proves unwilling or unable to lower its deficit, interest rates both them and in Canada will rise. That will stunt the recovery as which Wilson is counting and further increase the government's debt charges. The finance minister says that he recognizes the risk. "There's as awful lot riding on the United States," he conceded after his mini-budget. "But I don't think my expectations are unrealistic. I think there is going to be a clear desire on their part to bring the deficit down. It's a question of how."

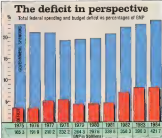
He is also relying heavily on the business community to respond favorably to the sug-

gestions that he is handing out. But most investors require more verbal encouragement: to convince them to commit large amounts of money to expanding their factories and hiring new workers. Some industries, such as mining and construction, are already operating so far below capacity that they have no interest in expanding. And other businesses need to be convinced that there is a healthy demand for their products before they are going to increase their output. Said Ernest Skolas of the Conference Board of Canada, "If the government can generate confidence. It's a good starting point, but it's not enough for a recovery."

Wilson says that he is aware of the risks. When he unveiled his agenda, a 139-page discussion paper entitled "A New Direction for Canada," at a recent cabinet meeting, he told his colleagues to expect "a courageous document." And he has braced himself for a potentially difficult meeting with his provincial counterparts, possible tensions with organized labor and unrelenting criticism from his political opponents. Declared Wilson, "That next period could be quite—let me choose my adjective carefully—interesting."

Wilson will have a number of unsuccessful predecessors watching from the sidelines as he begins his battle with the deficit. Justice Minister John Crossley, for one, headed what was finance minister in 1973 when he defied out the deficit by \$4.8 billion within five years. Then his Liberal successor, Allan Rock, and that he would reduce the deficit to \$10 billion by 1980. And last February Marc Lalonde added his name to the list of the defeated. He planned to finish this year with a deficit of \$20.6 billion. That projection has now revealed into the realm of wishful thinking. Wilson insists that he knows the magnitude of the task ahead of him. But he admits that he knows none has to sit. "When you have a \$15-billion deficit, you've got a real problem of arithmetic." □

Lalonde's disheveled watchdog



# Playing out a tragedy

By Dale Elder

**A** scene, reconstructing scenes fell over a Saskatoon courtroom last week when Mr Justice J.B. Maher asked 22 jurors if they had reached a verdict. The jury foreman answered crisply, "Yes, we did." The defendant guilty of first-degree murder. After four days and almost 20 hours of deliberation by the jury, the judgment struck Colin Thatcher like a physical blow. His head jerked back, and his eyes snapped shut. Seated in the courtroom, Thatcher's mother gasped, "Oh God," and his 19-year-old son, Greg, who was sitting beside her, stared blankly at the courtroom ceiling. Then, in the closing moments of the sensational trial, Thatcher clenched a Bible to his chest as the judge announced the Saskatchewan politician and son of former premier Ross Thatcher to the mandatory "life" in prison—no parole for 25 years—for the savage 1983 murder of his former wife, JoAnne Wilson.

Before being led away in handcuffs to a temporary cell in the Saskatoon Correctional Center, the 46-year-old Thatcher—who reportedly became a born-again Christian during his 15-day

trial—told reporters that he did not want to appeal the verdict. "It doesn't matter now," he insisted. "I am innocent. I did not do it, but it [acquittal] wasn't in the cards. And no, I will not be appealing." But at week's end, defense lawyer Gerald Allbright announced an appeal will be lodged. He declined to specify the grounds. In court last week Allbright had accused the judge of "pointing the judicial finger" at guilt at Thatcher in his instructions to the jury at the end of the trial. Crown prosecutor Sergio Kagan observed after the trial, "These cases are always appealed. See you in the Supreme Court."

For more than three weeks the dramatic, emotionally charged trial commanded public interest across the country as 25 prosecution and eight defense witnesses unfolded a tale of jealousy, hatred and bungled attempts at murder before the jury of seven men and five women. JoAnne Wilson was found bludgeoned and shot in the garage of her Regina home on June 21, 1983, in the midst of a highly publicized divorce and a bitter custody dispute over the couple's children. Arrested nearly 15 months after the discovery of Wilson's body, the erstwhile Saskatchewan energy

member was indicted and committed for trial as the proceeds that he "did unlawfully cause the death"—a charge that did not specify whether Thatcher personally killed his ex-wife or had someone else do it.

During prosecution testimony, former friends and associates of Thatcher delivered the most damaging evidence. Gary Anderson, an alleged accomplice in the killing who was granted immunity to free prosecution to return for his testimony, and Thatcher's former girlfriend, Lynn Mendel, among others, painted a damning portrait of Thatcher as a violent man with an obsessive hatred for his ex-wife. According to Anderson, Thatcher used at various times to put him and two other men to tell JoAnne Wilson, and on the day of her death he borrowed a car and reclaimed a 357 Magnum revolver from Anderson. Both Anderson and Mendel may apply for a \$50,000 reward offered by the Regina police for information leading to a conviction.

The jury probed the drama during four days of private deliberation. On three occasions the jurors asked the court to review testimony and provide clarification of the evidence. The jurors listened a second time to a 22-minute discussion between Thatcher and Anderson, who secretly recorded the conversation for the police six days before

Thatcher's arrest. Then they asked to be read transcripts of other testimony, including that of Craig Deane, a research assistant to former Saskatchewan premier Allan Rock, who caught a glimpse of the procedure as he left the Wilson estate. The jury was also read testimony from Thatcher and police witnesses about 1980 which Thatcher left for Anderson in a green garbage bag shortly after the two men had met at an abandoned farm near Thatcher's ranch at Canon, Sask., the day the tape-recording was made.

As the jury members' deliberations dragged on, speculation mounted that they might be unable to agree. But when they broke into the courtroom for the last time, they carefully avoided looking in Thatcher's direction—and an expectation of a guilty verdict seemed to permeate the courtroom. The verdict provided a tragic climax to a life that began in the shadow of the late Ross Thatcher, who served as liberal premier of Saskatchewan from 1964 to 1973 and was, according to a former cabinet colleague, "an autocratic father with a short fuse." Friends of the family said that Ross would tempt his son for being stupid, and Colin would work off his frustrations by talking a five-point with a bullwhip.

For his part, Blakeney, a 39-year veteran of the Saskatchewan legislature, debated both the Thatchers. Now the



Thatcher leaving court, born-again

leader of the provincial New Democrats, he added, "I think the trial and the events leading up to the trial are just a mass of human tragedy. It is almost clinically Greek in the sense of unifying the lives of almost everybody it touched. . . . It's something that sticks in all of us as a sense of sympathy for those who have been caught up in a chain of events with such a tragic outcome."

In Regina, the Conservative government of Premier Grant Devine acted swiftly to ensure that a convicted murderer did not remain a member of the provincial legislature. First elected to the provincial house as a Liberal in 1978, Thatcher joined the Conservatives two years later and was still the member of the legislature for Thunder Creek at the time of his trial. According to Justice Minister Gary Lane, Section 682 of the Criminal Code—which says that anyone holding a public office who is sentenced to a jail term exceeding five years vacates the office "forthwith"—should mean that Thatcher loses his seat. But Devine said that as an added measure he had asked the president of the Conservative party of Saskatchewan to write Thatcher and ask for his resignation from the party. Otherwise, Devine said an all-party resolution declaring Thatcher's seat vacant will be passed when the legislature convenes for a new session on Nov. 22. □

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## A transatlantic entente

When French President Charles de Gaulle stood on the balcony of Montreal's City Hall in July, 1967, and shouted "Vive le Québec libre!" he paved relations between France and Canada toward the breaking point. Diplomats dispute between Paris and Ottawa persisted in the 1970s as France often seemed to treat Québec as an independent entity, especially after the Parti Québécois came to power eight years ago this month. Then, the transatlantic

tension began to subside after Québec rejected sovereignty in the 1980 provincial referendum. And when the newly installed prime ministers—Brian Mulroney and Francis Lévesque—met in Ottawa last week, both were seemed determined to demonstrate that a new era in Franco-Canadian relations is under way.

France's Canadian visit—which included Québec City—was marked by warmth on both sides from the moment

he jet arrived at Ottawa's Updell Airport on Wednesday. That evening Mulroney entertained his visitors at the Weston Hotel, where, surrounded by 32 French and Canadian flags and welcomed by a string ensemble, they dined on goat salad, dressed lobster and ice cream with candied maple sugar washed down with French wines. Afterwards, Mulroney assured Fabius that Canadians "do not just admire France, we also love the great birth in our country." Mulroney also declared that although Ottawa is in charge of Canada's external affairs, his government "considers it completely normal and desirable that the Québec government maintain those relations that are justified by its cultural identity."

For his part, Fabius—who in his four months as prime minister under President François Mitterrand has been both flexible and moderate—responded that France-Canada relations have clearly improved. He added that France's ties with Québec are indeed "at the heart of our relations, but our ambition is more vast and aimed at all Canadians." His warm welcome in Ottawa, Fabius said, marks "the beginning of a very positive relationship." One aim of Fabius's visit was to encourage increased trade—worth about \$1.5 billion in total last year—although France sells more than it buys from Canada. Fabius predicted co-operative ventures with Canada in the aerospace, petroleum, helicopter and transport equipment industries. During the visit, officials discussed a long-standing dispute over France's claim to a 200-mile fishing and economic area around the French islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, off the Newfoundland coast. Canada's continuing claim to a matching offshore zone overlaps the French proposal. The officials agreed to hold further talks in January.

When Fabius flew on to Québec City for talks with Premier René Lévesque, minister issues were once again on the agenda. The Québec government wants France to invest in the province's auto industry but it had to settle instead for an agreement that Paris would look into the possibilities. At the same time, Fabius faced the difficult task of assuring Québec City of France's continued affection and concerns without offending Ottawa. To that end, the prime minister observed during the arrival ceremony in Québec City that it was natural that his first visit abroad as prime minister "should be to this country and this people."

But in Ottawa earlier, Fabius offered a diplomatic corrective to de Gaulle's 1967 exhortation when he concluded a speech with the mutually neutral salute, "Vive la France." THOM HARRINGTON in Ottawa, with Anthony M. Jones-Schick in Montreal and Julian Ashby in Paris.

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## Rewarding a down-home style

Following the trail blazed by Brian Mulroney, who swept to power in Ottawa on Sept. 4, and borrowing from the avuncular campaign style of Ronald Reagan, who was powerfully re-elected in the United States on Nov. 6, Premier John MacLean's Buchanan reaped his own political reward last week in Nova Scotia. Buchanan, 58, had raised eyebrows voters by calling an election two years before it was necessary in order to catch the Conservative

opponent from Mulroney's national victory. He offered the provincial electorate a reassuring reassurance in the absence of any pressing issues. Buchanan's political secretariat, Agor Adamson of Acadia University, "Buchanan behaved like Uncle John, and everyone loves Uncle John."

The Buchanan strategy helped to elect four additional members to give the Tories 42 of the legislature's 55 seats. At the same time, the opposition Liberals

lost half of their 12 seats. The New Democrats tripled their strength to three seats, and the Cape Breton Labor Party held onto its one spot. The Conservatives gained their victory two days before federal Finance Minister Michael Wilson's economic statement—and escaped the political consequences of higher gasoline prices and austerity cuts in such programs as home insulation subsidies. Buchanan's Tories may have picked up added political momentum by timing the election to coincide with Reagan's Republican landslide.

The Nova Scotia New Democrats were the only opposition party to make gains in the election. Under the leadership of Alexa McDonough, 46, the personable former social worker, the NDP picked up two additional seats, both of them in the Halifax area. Declared a joblessist McDonough, who has led the party since 1980 and was first elected to the legislature a year later. "I think the difference between one seat and three is the difference between heaven and hell."

Even though Nova Scotia is afflicted by 14.1 per cent unemployment, a \$2.3-billion provincial debt and disinvestment over the fading prospects of major offshore petroleum discoveries, only one odd issue emerged during the campaign. The generally lackluster Liberal leader, Sandy Cameron, 46, attacked the Buchanan government over alleged irregularities in expense claims by three Conservative MLAs. One of the members subsequently admitted that he had made a false claim. But when Cameron failed to provide any proof of his wider allegations, Buchanan struck back during a televised debate. Declared the premier: "In my opinion, the integrity of these men has been impugned... by the leader of the opposition, and again frankly this offends my sense of fair play." On election day Cameron was defeated in his Guysborough riding and he was expected to step down as party leader after four years in the job.

Some political observers predicted that the Tory gains might capsize Buchanan's re-elected government, to the political right, but Adamson contended that such an expectation was illusory. "Buchanan is what I call a canny politician," said Adamson. "He profiles a little to the right, then a little to the left, and there he is—stuck in the middle." For his part, a smiling Buchanan went to the middle of a local road the morning after the election and repeated a trademark gesture from his previous election victories in 1978 and 1982. He and his wife, Marlene, whom he had embraced in a logging cabin on TV the night before, stood on a traffic island in Buchanan's Springfield constituency and waved a thank-you sign at commuters driving to work in downtown Halifax. —JEREMY JONES in Halifax

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## Picking up the pace



Gossman-cantoring

A previously slow-paced race for the leadership of the Ontario Conservative party picked up speed last week when the fourth candidate—Ontario Treasurer Larry Gossman—formally joined the contest to succeed Premier William Davis. Gossman joined industry Minister Francis Miller, Agriculture Minister Dennis Timbrell and Attorney General Roy McMurtry in the contest, which will be decided at a party

convention Jan. 24 to 26 in Toronto. He immediately clashed with Miller over a set of government policies—including rent controls and public funding for Roman Catholic schools—that Miller claimed should be off limits in the campaign in order to preserve cabinet solidarity. Gossman, who would be Ontario's first Jewish premier, insisted that he would distance them anyway.

## Two left turns in B.C.

Voters in two B.C. ridings sent a blunt message to Premier William Bennett last week about his Social Credit government's tough fiscal restraint policies. When by-elections were held in the two constituencies, New Democratic Party candidates soundly defeated their Social Credit opponents, including a major upset in Okanagan North. The riding had been a Social stronghold for 32 years, becoming vacant when backbencher Donald Campbell died in June. The NDP attacked government cutbacks on social programs and capitalized on the charge that Bennett's neighboring home riding of Okanagan South had received preferential treatment. The strategy helped NDP candidate Lyle MacWilliam, a Vernon schoolteacher, to defeat Social Harold Threlkorn by a margin of 8,061 votes to 7,506. In Vancouver East, a New Democratic stronghold that was held by provincial party leader Doug Barrett before he resigned to become a Vancouver talk show host last spring, the Socials suffered a different kind of humiliation. As expected, the NDP's Robert Williams handily won the seat with 12,548 votes, but B.C. Liberal Leader Art Lee—whose the Socials had attempted to relegate to third place—finished a strong second over Social Credit candidate Mario Caravatta, by 8,128 votes to 3,562. Although the next provincial general election does not have to be held until 1988, senior NDP leader Robert Sicily declared jubilantly, "We're on a roll."

## A fatal gamble

For drivers in Prince Edward Island, the proposed incentive for buckling up has one drawback: the payout comes only after the driver has died. P.E.I. is one of only two provinces without a mandatory seat-belt law—Alberta is the other—and provincial Transport Minister Gordon Lank faced widespread opposition to any legal penalties for failure to wear belts while driving. Instead, Lank has asked insurance companies for cost estimates for a program that would pay \$10,000 to the estate of anyone killed while wearing one. Said Lank: "We have no real idea of the cost." But, between 1979 and 1980 only five out of 60 motor vehicle deaths in P.E.I.

involved people wearing seat-belts. Lank borrowed the idea from General Motors, which introduced a pay-if-you-die seat-belt plan across North America and so far has paid out \$30,000 on each of 35 claims, including four in Canada. In the meantime, P.E.I.'s highway safety department launched a \$50,000 program to focus almost all educating drivers with the slogan, "Seat-belts work for everyone." But Robert Campbell, a Liberal M.L.A., disagrees. Eight years ago Campbell lost control of his car on a slippery road and left a hydro pole. Thrown from his seat, he required consciousness to find the jagged end of the broken pole smashed against the driver's seat. Says Campbell: "I would have been killed if I had been wearing my seat-belt."

## Unspeakable scandals

Since last February, when a child younger than 14 told her teacher she was being sexually assaulted by someone in her family, courtrooms in Knoxville, N.S., have been filled with stories alarmingly unspeakable. In total, 12 adults, all related, were sent to trial for over 100 alleged sexual offences against 18 boys and girls, all cousins, between the ages of 6 and 14. The charges include sexual assault, incest and buggery, and relate to cases from as far back as 1956. Testimony from the children has been the crux of evidence in the trials. Some adults, given psychological tests, were classified libidinate and retarded. Two men from Black River, on South Mountain, a remote and scarcely populated Annapolis Valley town, were sentenced in the fall to prison terms—William James Gale, 18, to 4½ years and his uncle, William Dennis Gale, in his mid-30s, to seven years. Presiding Justice Dennis Barwell of the Nova Scotia Supreme Court cited society's revulsion toward such behavior. Stephen Mattson, defense lawyer for two of the accused, said residents' opinions vary between those who say it is a social problem and others who believe the behavior is criminal. But, added Mattson: "The town's population is just not in the courtroom because it is generally accepted that this has been going on for years. Everyone does the same thing is coming across the country. It just hasn't come into the forefront yet."

## Into the floodlights



Hatfield's applause

New Brunswick's Premier Richard Hatfield took the back door into the RCMP bureau in Fredericton one night last week to be fingerprinted in connection with his pending trial on a charge of possessing marijuana. But last Saturday in Moncton's Hemlock Hotel, Hatfield, 55, was in the floodlights at the annual general meeting of his provincial Progressive Conservative party—a cheering, heartbeating moral support expressed in five standing ovations. Speaking to

300 delegates two days before the 14th anniversary of his swearing in as premier, Hatfield apologized for not devoting his full attention to his duties. "I missed Hatfield, after thanking delegates for their personal support. "I owe it myself, in spite of distractions, to take charge. I am going to do a better job." His trial is expected to follow two provincial by-elections on Nov. 26.

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Seagram's V.O.

# The terrible face of famine

By Shona McKay

The horror could be read everywhere—in the vacant eyes filled with madness and despair, in the words that would never heal, in the bones that would never harden. Rich

sons, where 47,000 people are waiting for food.

Among Western governments, Canada spearheaded the relief effort. Ottawa has already pledged \$86 million in emergency food aid and another \$15.5 million for medical supplies and water projects

to play a leading role.

Moved by appeals for aid, ordinary Canadians were equally quick to respond. After watching television pictures of starving children, Hilda Goss, lawyer Marcel Boesley called 30 businessmen and, within 24 hours, raised \$115,000 in pledges. Ottawa widow Florence Reid set up fund-raising booths at local shopping centres and, with 15 volunteers, collected another \$30,000 one Saturday afternoon.

Canada's concern was clearly shared elsewhere. By week's end, about 200,000 tons of food had been pledged, and 50 percent from seven nations had begun ferrying supplies. It is a sharp policy reversal. Washington promised \$60 million in relief to Mengistu's Marxist regime and the Soviet Union, criticised earlier for providing it ally with \$2.5 billion in weapons and little economic relief, offered troops, helicopters and transport planes.

But even those commitments, supplemented by private agencies, were woefully inadequate. Returning from Ethiopia last week, Washington's senior relief official, Peter McPherson, predicted that not much more would be needed in the next 18 months to avert disaster. As it is, Ethiopian ports can handle only 50,000 tons a month and they lack unloading equipment. Severe lack



Mother and child at Koron, an anguished wail for the world's mercy

After External Affairs Minister Joe Clark's meetings with Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam in Addis Ababa last week, an announcement of additional assistance was expected. One option being considered: matching private donations with federal government funds. Said Canadian Embassy counsellor Terence Mossey, chairman of the international co-ordinating body "Our accountability to Ethiopia and our good reputation with Western donors allow us

tracks are scarce, roads are primitive, and vast sections of the west famine-stricken areas—the northern provinces of Erize, Tigre and Wallo—are under the control of rebels fighting the Mengistu government. Said Clark's aide David, the former Conservative cabinet minister now heading Canada's African relief program "The situation is enormously difficult. No consistent roads, no operational vehicles, no spare parts and, in some key areas, a significant



Clark in Addis Ababa with Ethiopian foreign minister negotiates change

amount of fighting. You've got to take all that into account and still get the food through." His U.S. counterpart, McPherson, called upon donor governments to hold an immediate international conference to solve the logistical chaos.

The co-ordination problems have been aggravated by what Western diplomats privately call Ethiopia's "poor management" of the crisis. Until late last month, food shipments to the northern regions were almost nonexistent, and deliveries to feeding stations irregular. At the same time, some 25,000 tons not stockpiled in Addis, waiting for transport.

The same Ethiopian organisation responsible for famine aid, the National Relief and Rehabilitation Commission, is also responsible for Ethiopia's 300,000-strong army, the largest in black Africa. Moreover, according to observers, Mengistu's government deferred serious effort after September's black anniversary celebrations of the revolution that toppled former emperor Haile Selassie. While Soviet-style military parades watched through the capital's Revolution Square, deliveries were put on hold, officials were unreachable and shipments of food to the hardest-hit areas were suspended for more than two weeks. Moreover, McPherson pointed to estimates that Ethiopia spent between \$100 and \$200 million to mark the anniversary.

Even when the emergency of the famine began to register, Mengistu's original estimates of re-

lief teenagers were far below actual needs. In part, that reflected the West's poor response to earlier appeals. But the government's projections were also based on delivering food to the "reachable" numbers. That did not include the most drought-stricken areas—the western provinces in the north where, all the main roads, insurgents remain in control. Their food reserves depleted, thousands migrated south from Erize, Tigre and Gonder, only to discover that a registration plan—requiring them to prove membership in a regional peasant's organisation—rendered them ineligible for relief.



lief at the Ethiopian government bungled, outsiders now scrambling to ease the plight of starving people seen as their television screens are likewise been slow to respond. The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) placed the situation in October, 1983, about impending starvation in Ethiopia—and 51 other African countries. Eugene Whelan, former federal agriculture minister and president of the World Food Council, returned from a five-day visit to Ethiopia in August, 1983, and, mainly armed with cabinet colleagues to implement a \$20-million emergency aid program. Said Whelan: "This crisis should not be happening. We have no real excuse." And for the past year, William Newell, executive director of World Vision Canada, has crisscrossed the country pleading—still, new in vain—for aid to Ethiopia.

To ensure that Canadian aid actually reaches the victims, Clark told Mengistu last week that he wanted observers to monitor the movement of food from port to feeding stations. "We don't want to be reading horror stories about food piling up in barns and silos," said David MacDonaid. "We've got to be sure that people are being fed." For his part, Mengistu gave the Canadians his "total blessing" and, pointing out statistics of Marx and Lenin as recently displayed in the capital, quipped: "If other people are able to help us, we'll recognise them appropriately too."

But for thousands, the world's sudden awakening comes much too late. Less than 100 km north of Addis Ababa, and 50 km from the Red Sea, last week, "people were dying around us on the roadside. These are worn-out shadows of human beings. Tens of thousands are in the last stages of their lives." Even if current relief needs are met, Ethiopia's continuing problems—a massive debt load and sustained overruns (the 22-year Eritrean conflict is the continent's longest war)—are certain to continue. So tragically, may the drought. Canadian diplomats now say that Africa is in the 15th year of a 40-year drought cycle. As more African nations face starvation, the resources of donor countries will dwindle. As for Ethiopia, a recent World Bank report forecasts that, by 1984, even assuming a bountiful harvest, the rains will grow as we were fed there in this terrible year of famine.

With Carol Berger in Addis Ababa, Michael Chomsky in Ottawa, Lenora Glynn in New York, Gordon Legge in Cologne, William Leather in Washington and Joe Miller in London.





The victorious president with wife, Nancy, in Los Angeles on election night, the exact point political phenomenon in decades

UNITED STATES

## An encore for the oldest president

By Marc McDonald

The setting was uncommonly fitting, and no one was more aware of it than the star himself. High above Los Angeles in a 19th-floor hotel suite, Ronald Wilson Reagan waited for the announcement that reconfirmed him as the 40th president of the United States. And, just as he had during the final days of his campaign, he reflected on the origins of his political odyssey almost 20 years ago—the televised speech on behalf of 1964 Republican presidential candidate Barry Goldwater—that transformed him overnight from a genial TV host into an electrifying rallying point for American conservatism. At the time he had ended his collaboration with the promise, "You and I have a rendezvous with destiny." Last week Reagan was back in California keeping that date—a rendezvous in an even more stirring form than his 1960 defeat of Jimmy Carter for the presidency. His re-election was both as surprising and stunning as its implications.

Sweeping up a record 525 electoral college votes across 49 states—and leaving challenger Walter Mondale with the

humiliation of only 13 ballots from the District of Columbia and his home state of Minnesota—Reagan captured the largest electoral majority of any president in history. In the process he established himself as one of the most potent political phenomena in decades—a towering success on the sheer strength of his personality. Defying conventional wisdom and questions about his own

*I've never really warmed to television. And in fairness to television, it's never really warmed up to me*

capabilities, the oldest man ever to serve as U.S. president forged a popular consensus from his simple, often-repeated message of optimism and patriotism.

The president's statements within its first 34 hours of his triumph indicated no change in his sunny strategy. In a post-election press conference Reagan resisted elaborating on any specific plans for dealing with the nation's social

pressing problem—a cumulative \$650-billion budget deficit which could undermine the economic recovery that has been a vital element of his success. In fact, as the date of his re-election proposals currently being studied by the treasury department, as well as promised spending cuts, he gave the impression that he had no grand design at all. "What we're doing just happens as for what we're going to do," he declared in his acceptance speech.

But few observers doubted that the second Reagan term would be more difficult than the first. Republicans confidently claimed that the election would produce a historic realignment, making the Grand Old Party dominant for generations. But 90 million American voters—the largest turnout, as a percentage of registered voters, at a presidential election in 24 years—voiced their preference for maintaining the status quo. In the end, little in the nation's political landscape had changed.

Many overwhelmingly endorsed Reagan but gave him a Congress ill-equipped to challenge White House efforts to push through substantial legislative programs. In the Senate, where 33 seats were contested, Republicans retained a



Mondale with wife and daughter in St. Paul, Missouri and a startling confession

majority of 52 to 47, but two seats to Democrats. That change, many analysts calculated, would force the other house to take moderate, politically centrist positions in the next four years, especially with 22 Republican senators nervously facing re-election in two years.

In the 435-seat House of Representatives, Democrats retained control by a margin of approximately 70 seats. The Republicans managed to gain 14. But that total was far short of the 26 which Guy Vander Jagt, chairman of the Republican congressional campaign committee, had predicted they needed. "For the Reagan revolution is over," since the Reagan revolution is over. "It's a disaster. There was even as late as 1980 that one-third of the Republicans elected rejected socially conservative Democrats who had frequently supported the president in the past. Acknowledged White House Chief of Staff James Baker "It will be very difficult to push some of the things that the president is going to want to push in Congress."

In fact, most analysts predicted that despite his impressive mandate, Reagan has only six months in which to accomplish his goals. Such James Baker's senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. "We are entering a period of deadlock and drift, with the Republican party threatening to splinter into five or six factions and the Democratic party already splintered. They'll be out to discredit each other, and we won't be able

to cope decisively with the problems that confront the country. Reagan's second term will be nothing but a stalemate."

For Mondale the future is particularly bleak. His 24-year career apparently ended. As 10,000 Republicans cheered over Reagan's avalanche under tricolor halos in a Washington hotel on election night, Mondale faced a crowd of 2,000 quiet layabouts, dwarfed by the cavernous Civic Center of St. Paul, Minn., to concede defeat with a grimace. Mondale later broke down and wept privately with his family. The next morning, in a confidential press conference, he accepted much of the blame for the Democrats' devastating national misfortune, including his strategic error in emphasizing the budget deficit. "From the beginning I seemed to have trouble convincing young Americans that I had the vision of the future that I believe I had," he said. "I was unable to make the case." And after a campaign that often seemed aimed over issues, Mondale admitted his own aversion with mass communication. "I've never really warmed to television," he acknowledged, "and is

asked "No, I have confessed to us. As we are on our way. We are not monolithic. We have wonderfully independent minds."

Reagan to television. It's never really warmed up to me." Then, before fleeing to a vacation in the Virgin Islands, the former vice-president assumed his retirement from political life, adding that he will return to private law practice in Washington. Said Mondale: "I think just as you have to know when to get into politics, it takes strength to know when it's time to do something else."

For Democrats, one of the most devastating ramifications of the results was the uncomfortable realization that Mondale's historic gamble in nominating Geraldine Ferraro as his running mate had worked against him. Fully 87 per cent of the female electorate voted for Reagan, only 42 per cent for Mondale—even even then had cast their ballots for former president Jimmy Carter in 1980. The Ferraro factor that had inspired jitters, albeit not rallies where the first woman vice-presidential candidate had managed failed to translate into votes. Coupled with a backlash from American white male voters, who favored Reagan by 66 per cent, it was a stunning rebuke to feminists in general and to Ferraro in particular. Not only did the fact that women voters, but she failed to win over her own constituency among Roman Catholics and Italians as well. They endorsed Reagan by 55 and 37 per cent respectively.

Some analysts contended that the verdict reduced her candidacy to a hollow symbolism that left back the movement by years. But most feminists appeared to disagree, pointing out that a record number of women had worked in the campaign and contributed more than \$4 million to it. Declared Gloria Steinem: "You can say it's a small net gain for women, but it's a substantial net gain in activism." Nevertheless, Ferraro was uncharacteristically subdued as she met the press on the morning after the vote and announced her own return to life. "Am I disappointed? Of course. I am."

Some feminists charged that Ferraro was a victim of Mondale's own uncharacteristic candidacy. Others claimed that she may have lost the first battle in politics to suffer not from judgments against herself but against her husband, John. Said one woman: "That accusation seemed to carry weight as a New York

Ferraro: much backlash



## The U.S. Election Results

Total electoral votes: 538 Needed to win: 270

Reagan: 525

Mondale: 13



grand jury last week investigated whether Sacco may have illegally loaned money from an estate of which he was the official conservator. And Mondale himself charged that Sacco's temporary refusal to disclose his income tax returns last summer had cost the campaign "tens of eight million dollars." Indeed, after the campaign's painful attacks on her family, Perera is expected to put her own political future on hold.

The fate of the Democratic Party itself seemed equally uncertain. The party retained its dominance at state, local and House of Representatives levels, improved its standing in the Senate and held onto 36 of the 46 state governorships. But its traditional national coalition lay in tatters. Mondale's loss was the Democrats' third-worst presidential defeat in 12 years and it underscored the erosion of support for a party that conservatives charged had become a "ghost ship" (blue-collar voters, the traditional backbone of the Democrats, voted for Reagan over Mondale by 55 to 44 per cent). Said Housing Carter in state department spokesman during Jimmy Carter's administration: "This is the last hurrah for the notion of the old party. If we don't deal with what happened tonight and create a new agenda, the same thing will happen in 1988."

On election night the national party executives in Washington reflected just how seriously the party had lost its way. Despite polls unanimously predicting Mondale's defeat, officials insisted on billing it as a "victory party" and, throughout the disappointing evening, constantly urged the band to strike up

**Happy Days Are Here Again.** For most, the Democrats had become trapped in their own images as party of minorities. But for blacks, the loss was a double blow, nullifying the success of massive black voter registration drives and heralding an uncertain future for civil rights. In a moving election night speech, Rev. Jesse Jackson urged Democrats to "general—and blacks in particular—not to be discouraged. 'Heid your head up, Jack,' he intoned. "Don't let them break you."

But the vote also raised serious questions about relations between blacks and whites. With Mondale sweeping 80 per cent of the black vote and Reagan dominating the white South, some observers forecast a potentially dangerous polarization of the parties along racial lines. Said interior Arthur Schlesinger: "It's the most potentially dangerous problem not only for the Democrats but racial relations in general."

Elsewhere the Democrats resolve their identity crisis, the long and difficult battle for the party's heart begins this week as state committees meet in the Virgin Islands. There, early aspirants for the 1988 presidential nomination will already be trying to court support for that race. Said national party

spokesman Gabe Rouse: "The party is up for grabs." Among the likely leadership contenders in New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, whose powerful Democratic National Convention speech in San Francisco last July propelled him into the front lines. Indeed, as Cuomo entered an election night gathering in New York, supporters filled the hall with chants of "Go! Responded Cuomo: "These are all the people who want to run for governor." But to some analysts, what the Democrats will need most in 1988 is not new faces or ideology but a return to economic hard times. Said James Leach, political science professor at Georgetown University: "There's nothing about the Democratic party that a recession won't cure."

Indeed, the state of the economy during Reagan's second term will also determine the future leadership of the Republicans. For Vice President George Bush, a recession like the one which many economists are predicting for 1986 would prove disastrous. It might also harm the leading candidate of the party's right wing, Jack Kemp, the hard-core former football star turned Buffalo congressman. Kemp, who is the leading spokesman for supply-side economics, will be jockeying for influence against more liberal Republicans, including Kansas Senator Robert Dole, a consistent advocate of raising taxes to deal with the budget deficit, and Howard Baker, the former Senate majority leader who retired this year to practice law and consider his political future.

Another potential Republican contender may be Jesse Helms, the champion of the Christian fundamentalists, who narrowly kept his North Carolina seat after an expensive and racially divisive challenge from former governor James Hargis. Supported by a swelling white voter backlash, fueled by the Moral Majority, Helms, 63, will strengthen the hand of the New Right in the Senate, leading the fight to remove prayer in schools and to ban abortions. But Helms's win was also less important, implications for American foreign policy. Following the defeat of Senator Charles Percy of Illinois, who was ousted by Democratic Representative Paul Simon, Helms is next in line for chairmanship of the key foreign relations committee. There, he would be certain to press his hawkish views as a

Reagan's uncertain future



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of Nicaragua. In fact, as reports of Soviet ships unloading sophisticated weaponry in the Pacific port of Corinto flared last week, the threat of further U.S. pressure seemed dangerously real (page 30). Foreign policy analysts do not expect an imminent new Reagan initiative in the Middle East, simply because of the situation's apparently hopeless impasse.

But for most Americans, the issue of importance seems to be Reagan's plans for the economy. Exit polls showed that most voters credited the president with a recovery that many economists had attributed to declining oil prices and the tight money policies of the Federal Reserve. In fact, with mushrooming budget deficits that some experts predict will spark a new recession, Reaganism is the one area in which the president's

ing as the only means of trimming the deficit. Reagan has already indicated that he has his sights on those areas he considers still "infected with fat"—that is, anything other than the Pentagon and a social security fund that he vowed not to touch during his election campaign. His prime target may be a \$65-billion Medicare fund. But White House sources have said that funds will also be cut from a range of government programs, from social housing, community development grants and farm price support payments—a move that would further hurt those Americans already suffering because of Reagan's policies.

Critics say that a policy of reducing social programs can only exacerbate the gap gap between the haves and have-nots in American society. In second round the poor and disenfranchised



The Reagans relaxing on their California ranch, leaving a personal mark in history.

victory could most quickly occur with the electorate. As the trade deficit swells toward \$150 billion—due largely to a massive U.S. dollar—many economists and Reagan aides are calling for a tax increase. But in his post-election statements the president clung to his campaign vow never to raise taxes, even under the guise of a "tax simplification" reform, which the treasury department is now studying. In fact, such a move would never win the support of House Democrats. Some observers expect Reagan to decide in favor of a modified "flat tax," which would lower the tax rate to as little as 30 percent and eliminate certain deductions and brackets, while not increasing overall revenues.

That will leave drastic cuts in spend-

ing for Medicaid, while the affluent and middle-class supported Reagan. Declared historian Schlesinger: "I think a real possibility of a polarized society is emerging, and if we get into a situation of high inflation or recession, these class differences are going to be exacerbated more and more. I think Reagan is sowing the seeds for class warfare in this country. That could become his most serious legacy."

The debates and conflicting speculation about the future direction of the United States, following so swiftly on the massive exercise in democracy, exposed an American paradox: A nation that delivered the most decisive electoral statement in its history remained muddled with uncertainties about where that decision would take it next. □

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Sandinista Agriculture Minister Jesus Minozock, feeling mood of triumph

MICHAEL

## Waging a war of nerves

The announcement caused a near-panic within the Nicaraguan junta. When Reagan administration officials claimed last week that a Soviet freighter docked in the Pacific port of Corinto might be carrying Soviet-made fighter jets, newly elected Sandinista leaders gathered hastily in the Casa de Gobierno near Managua's airport to issue their response—a categorical denial that such intimated MIG-23 combat aircraft were part of the shipment. But Washington's ally and Managua's foe were only this opening volley in a psychological war of nerves that last week seemed close to a breaking point.

First, the Sandinistas charged that a U.S. Navy frigate and a C-50 aircraft had violated Nicaraguan territorial waters and airspace. The Pentagon promptly denied both charges. Then, on three consecutive days, powerful radio broadcasts which the junta attributed to U.S. reconnaissance aircraft shook a dozen cities. The messages, named Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto, were part of President Reagan's purported obsession with destroying the Nicaraguan revolution.

In Washington concerns about the Soviet camp were clearly bipartisan. Democrats and Republican allies have repeatedly warned that the introduction of Soviet MIGs into Central America could upset the regional balance of military power. The Sandinistas had as conceivable need for such weapons, declared Daniel Moyaerhan (N.Y.A. ranking Democrat on the Senate intelligence committee, and the presence of unassisted MIGs in port would indicate

that the Kremlin wanted to create a political crisis with the United States. And that, Moyaerhan added, would constitute a "deliberate act of provocation."

Moscow denied sending MIGs, and by week's end U.S. intelligence experts said the shipment probably contained short-range surface-to-air missiles. But the sharp escalation of tension quickly deflated the mood of triumph that followed Nicaragua's Nov. 4 general election. Led by Daniel Ortega Somoza, the left-wing Sandinista National Front captured 61 per cent of the popular vote, as well as the presidency, vice-presidency and 62 of 80 seats in the newly created national assembly. To effect an election boycott by most opposition parties, Ortega focused his efforts on securing a high turnout for the vote. In the end, about 80 per cent of nearly 3.6 million registered voters cast ballots—a clear endorsement of the process itself.

Still, the Sandinistas failed to win international respectability by holding the vote. Only three foreign governments—the Netherlands, the Congo and Tanzania—sent official observers. Most other nations, including Canada, rejected invitations, claiming that the election was not a true test of democracy. Noted Canada's ambassador to Costa Rica and also responsible for Nicaragua, Francis Pihl. "The whole system was the word go has been one where one party has ruled." But with Washington refusing to rule out the use of force and Managua warning of an imminent U.S. invasion, last week's political result seemed almost irrelevant.

—PAUL KILMAN in Managua

CHILE

## Chile's junta cracks down

Chilean critics of Gen Augusto Pinochet called it a setback into repression. Flooded by spreading left-wing terrorist attacks on government targets—including more than 70 bombings and the slaying of six paramilitary policemen—Chile's junta leaders last week declared a state of siege. In swift succession the 66-year-old Pinochet used his sweeping powers to impose both strict press censorship and a midnight-to-dawn curfew and to provide police with the right to arrest and detain suspects without trial. In the first hours after the declaration, 367 people were arrested for civil violations and so apartment publications were shut down. Then all unannounced political meetings were also banned. Declaring Pinochet "The man that affect our political life continue to be present."

The president imposed the state of siege after a week of tumult both inside the cabinet and on the streets of Santiago, the Chilean capital. Police and violent protests against Pinochet's 11 years in power, the junta's interior minister and chief civil voice in the cabinet, Sergio Onofre Jarpa, abruptly announced his resignation on Nov. 5, along with that of 15 other cabinet members. Jarpa cited personal frustrations over a decline in church-state relations and the military's failure to develop a system for securing power—issued during the 1973 overthrow and assassination of Salvador Allende—the civilian hands. But only one day later Pinochet announced that Jarpa and all but one other minister would be reinstated in a newly reorganized cabinet. Observed one foreign diplomat, "Jarpa has lost all credibility. Reorganizing it tears one day and getting his job back the next day just enhances it."

Meanwhile, reaction to the state of siege—the first since 1973—ranged from mild acceptance to outright outrage. A spokesman for the conservative National Party said the measure was necessary to fight the surge in terrorism. But General Araya, a prominent member of the Christian Democratic Party, called on his constituency to move carefully but aggressively to prevent Pinochet's latest crackdown. Said Araya: "There will have to be a very strong reaction, because if the government is successful in its effort to destroy the civilian opposition we will have Pinochet around for a long time."

—MARY HELEN SHROVER in Santiago



Rajiv Gandhi highly concerned his mother's safety—publicly admits first murder

INDEA

## A trail of blood and ashes

By David North

In Kalyanpuri, in the eastern sector of the capital, police destroyed a block of mud huts covering an area the size of a football field, systematically looting Sikh homes and setting anything left—and anyone seated—on fire. In Trilokpur, another Sikh ghetto in New Delhi's east end, the allegations were bitter with the slaying of 11 Sikh women—shreds of clothing, charred beds, human hair and dried blood. "They were like a pack of mad dogs," said seven-year-old Charan Singh, whose father and uncle were burned alive before his eyes. "They dragged people from their houses, beat them senseless and made a bonfire of them." The cry of destruction finally ended last week, after India's new prime minister, Rajiv Gandhi, belatedly called out the army to restore order. But in the wake of the Oct. 31 assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by two Sikh bodyguards, the calm that settled over India was uneasy.

The mood remained especially fearful in a dozen makeshift refugee camps, where an estimated 30,000 Sikhs seek shelter from armed Hindu gangs, or goondas. Thousands more sought refuge in Sikh temples and schools or with Hindu friends appalled by the spasm of sectarian violence that claimed an estimated 1,000 lives last week. On Thursday, as the nation's 14 million Sikhs marked the 525th anniversary of the birth of Guru Nanak, the sect's founder, ashram leaders cancelled processional marches for fear of igniting a new round

of mayhem.

In one gesture to reduce tensions, the 43-year-old prime minister announced that victims of last week's riots would be compensated for the loss of life or property and that law-incentive loans of as much as \$50,000 would be available to Sikhs whose businesses had been ransacked by the mobs. Ending a whirlwind round of private meetings with foreign dignitaries attending his mother's funeral, Gandhi also reassured most of India's Gandhi's cabinet, firing six

Sikhs in a refugee camp at Shalimar: fear of a new round of sectarian mayhem



member and adding another—Molina Roldan, a Mexican senator. Observers regarded that appointment as politically astute, since both senators and Mexicans will be important constituents in the general elections expected in mid-January.

Next, the new prime minister ordered India's top security official, S. Aswani Kumar, to begin a formal investigation of his mother's murder. The probe will focus on whether the assassin, who fired 21 bullets into Indira Gandhi in the crowd of her official residence, had acted alone or as an instrument of a larger conspiracy. The sole surviving assassin, Satwant Singh, 21, reportedly told authorities that the plot was conceived by a Sikh spiritual leader, identified as Giani, to avenge the Indian army's June assault on Sikhism's holiest shrine, the Golden Temple at Amritsar, then a refuge for separatist Sikhs. A nationwide search was mounted for Giani, but some Indian officials suggested he may have fled to Canada, home of some 100,000 Sikhs. As India's spokesman, however, said that the Western had not received any requests for assistance from either Indian authorities or international police agencies. But Rajiv Gandhi been with his mother as the murder morning, Satwant Singh also ducked, the son, too, was to have been killed.

To forestall further violence, the prime minister appointed N.M.K. Wali, the home ministry's highest-ranking civil servant, as the new lieutenant-governor of New Delhi. Said Wali: "No measure will be taken to prevent fresh trouble." To back up that warning, 15,000 troops, six companies of paramilitary reserves and the Delhi police



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polluted the city and suburbs, enforcement and regularly checking cars at roadblocks. Security forces were also deployed on security trains, a hero done of dead Sikhs were found last week. But while the nation struggled to regain its equilibrium, some Sikhs were convinced that the danger had passed. Inside the grounds of St. Paul College, a refugee camp in east New Delhi, some 20,000 Sikhs squatted on desks or lay on blankets in corridors. One 60-year-old woman described a mob that threw stones and set fire to her house. Unable to fight, she fled. When she returned, the bodies of two sons, a brother and three nephews lay in the street. Two daughters had been kidnapped. Said Khushwant Singh, a 60-year-old Sikh historian: "For the first time I understood what the Jews must have felt like in Nazi Germany. Words like genocide start having a meaning for me." While most Sikhs began drifting back home from government-sponsored refugee camps, some were unwilling to leave. Lamented one old woman: "We left Pakistan to make India our home," referring to the 1947 partition of the Asian subcontinent, after which millions of Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims moved to new homes across the borders. "Now, we are being driven out of India."

Among Sikhs still living in the teeming neighborhoods of Trilokpur, many last week shed their traditional turbans and cut their hair—a sacrifice—to make themselves less distinguishable from Hindus. Angry despite Hindu claims that they had requested as much of Gandhi's assassination, they accused police and Gandhi's Congress (I) Party officials of failing to stop the carnage and, in some cases, abetting it. "The police did not care," said Harinder Singh. "I jumped onto a police jeep to escape a mob, and they just pushed me out. I don't know how I am still alive."

But while survival was the first priority, the larger-term dilemma for Sikhs was how and when to rebuild their lives. Harinder Singh suggested last week that Sikhs should be resettled in the northern Punjab, where some 60 per cent of India's Sikhs already live. But that would involve a mass exchange of populations more than half a million Sikhs made in New Delhi, and five million Hindus live in the Punjab.

For the moment, Sikhs' major worry is that Punjab's India will exact their own vengeance for the Hindu riots, giving yet another spin to the cycle of violence. At week's end, as he prepared to scatter his mother's ashes over the Himalayas, Rajiv Gandhi had succeeded in ending the pogroms and restoring order. But for the self-confused natives in the brutal theatre of Indian politics, the mission had clearly only begun.

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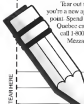
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## Raking over Kohl



Klaus Dübener gets

Steadily speaking, West German elections have not been democratic in political circles. But the 38 allies that flank the industrial conglomerate, give in the 1970s has blown into a scandal that has toppled two high-ranking members of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) government. Economics Minister Otto Lambsdorff resigned amid accusations that he supported tax concessions to

Flück after receiving gifts from Bundesrat speaker Rainer Barzel over a campaign that he had resigned leadership of the CDU in favor of new Chancellor Helmut Kohl after taking bribes from Fiat. Last week a parliamentary investigation took testimony from another prominent witness—Kohl himself. Conceding that his then-opponent Christian Democrats party had accepted \$10,000 between 1977 and 1979, Kohl insisted that Flück's donations were perfectly legal and that his long-held demand of wrongdoing was unfairly to end the affair—or relieve the pressure on the chancellor.

## A striking new weapon

The fatal riots and the strikes were brief but politically ominous. For two days last week rioting spread through the black townships of Tembisa and Sebokeng, near Johannesburg, and 23 people were killed in clashes with police. Leaders of the United Democratic Front, an anti-apartheid organization, claimed that police attempts to level legitimate political activity as criminal behavior had sparked the violence. At the same time, black South Africans staged mass work boycotts to protest Pretoria's apartheid policies. The stoppages sent white mine managers in Johannesburg scrambling to fill in for absent workers. At the nation's state-owned petroleum company, esso, officials reportedly dismissed 4,000 blacks—90 percent of the plant company's black work force—for participating in the strike. Such measures, the government claimed, would prevent other blacks from joining the so-called "stayaway" boycott program. Government authorities in Pretoria maintained that last week's disturbances, and similar outbreaks that have caused about 135 deaths since last February, are the work of subversive agitators. But as last week's work stoppages indicated, the black labor market may have tested a weapon far more effective in the fight against apartheid. Implemented on a large scale—blacks hope and whites fear—strikes could bring the South African economy to a halt.

## A Canadian connection

Businessman-politician Vito Ciancimino fared well when Italian police came to his Palermo penthouse and read out the reasons for his arrest—Mafia connections and illegal export of currency. Not only that, reports of the arrest seemed all the way to Canada. The police had to drag away the somewhat flamboyant and former Palermo city mayor to face charges in Rome, marking a new phase in Italy's widening assault against organized crime, including businessmen and politicians. The charges against Ciancimino, 60, also throw new light on the Mafia's multimillion-dollar incursions into Can-

ada. Magistrates issued the arrest warrant after viewing evidence supplied by Tommaso Buscetta, an underworld kingpin-turned-informer, that allegedly tied Ciancimino to the drug trade between Italy and North America. The Canadian connection was an especially strong one. The magazine alleges that in 1979 alone Ciancimino funneled \$2.6 million in drug profits into Canadian businesses and bank accounts on the Mafia's behalf. Investigation leads were provided by the discovery, two years ago in Montreal, of checks signed by one of Ciancimino's sons and other financial papers mentioning the Cianciminos on the slim body of Michel Pons, an alleged Mafia boss. Three Sicilian investigators pursued the case on visits to Montreal last month. And last week a Palermo court confiscated the family's financial holdings, contending it was derived from Mafia activities.

## Long road to an exit

As an exercise in peacekeeping, it was a tentative beginning. But around a triangular table in the Lebanese border town of Naqurah last week, envoys of Israel, Lebanon and the United Nations opened talks aimed at resolving the two-year military stalemate between the two nations. Beirut wants Israel to withdraw from the 10,000 troops stationed in southern Lebanon since its 1982 invasion. Jerusalem is willing to comply—the occupation is costing Israel \$1 million a day—but it wants to ensure that the zone does not again become a haven for Palestinian or Shi'ite Muslim terrorism. Both sides agree that the 2,000-strong UN Truce Forces in Lebanon (UNTrif) should expand its presence in the south. But among the key issues still unresolved in the future status of the South Lebanese Army. Israel insists that the militia must play a role in the region, perhaps as a separate brigade of the national armed forces. Beirut and the Syrian government of Hafez al-Assad, with 40,000 troops of its own in Lebanon—Bach reject that proposal. Meeting under heavy guard last week in UNTrif's headquarters, the two sides did little more than offer opening statements. They had also agreed to meet again this week for more substantive discussions, but at week's end Lebanon abruptly suspended the talks, protesting Israel's arrest of four Shi'ites in the south.

## Missing in Red Square



Unlucky score threat

The comment was stopped and far from reassuring the night it took a new threat. Everything is okay," Moscow Communist Party chief Viktor Grishin would offer nothing more on the intriguing absence last week of his colleague, Defense Minister Dmitry Ustinov, 76, from the annual military parade marking the anniversary of the 1917 Communist revolution. The lineup of leaders at such events atop Lenin's tomb in Moscow's Red Square has long been a gauge of both the political and physical power of the ruling Politburo. Observers speculated that Ustinov's health may have been too fragile to review the parade this year. There was little doubt, however, about the strength of Mikhail Gorbachev, 53. He enjoyed a prominent position next to the powerful old guard, confirming beliefs in the West that he is the Politburo member most likely to succeed top leader Konstantin Chernenko, 72.

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# The meaning of Morgentaler

ESSAY

By Anne Collins

Sometimes, while considering the crusade of Henry Morgentaler over the course of the past year, it was easy to believe that the doctor's devotion knew no bounds. He might even have qualified as the most naive man in Canada. Of his own free will, in order to meet a growing crisis that almost everyone else in his profession seemed content to ignore, he abandoned safe harbor in Quebec—where he runs his abortion clinic—because, as he said, "there he was regarded as a respected professional—in order to bring abortion services to women badly served by all the other governments of Canada. Morgentaler announced his intentions openly, and it was the best possible thing in the world to do, and even offered his two clinics, in Toronto and Winnipeg, as pilot projects—good learning experiences—for provincial governments which he said insisted on subjecting women to the ineptitude and manhandling of Canada's abortion law.

Morgentaler did not choose a politic time. He ignored the fact that governments wanted to grapple with economic issues (the deficit, unemployment, hard times) and not with abortion, which generates equal cries of private conscience and public controversy—a social, legal, moral issue that won't go away. He also ignored the right-to-life movement in Canada, not anyone the relative handful of activists who made his life miserable during his first three trials on abortion charges in Quebec: but an educational movement 230-people strong, with two political lobbying arms, Campaign Life and Coalition for Life. All of them were outraged because of the three that six specters of "Morgentaler Clinics" passed to their cause. He ignored the conservatism in the air, both the moderate Canadian brand which brought Brian Mulroney's party to power in an overwhelming landslide last September and the far-right brand which bore an implacable anti-abortionism to the presidency of the United States even as Ronald Reagan just two days before a jury of six men and six women announced their verdict on Henry Morgentaler. Morgentaler was right in all his wiffling opinions: that jury found him not guilty.

Not guilty—the meaning of the phrase has truly to be considered. Of the three doctors charged—Robert Scott, Leslie Swinford and Morgentaler—only Morgentaler really believed that the jury would acquit. At the press conference after the verdict, Morgentaler's lawyer, Morris Manning, said what most observers thought throughout the trial: "People said a jury acquittal could never happen outside Quebec, an Ontario jury would never acquit." Despite seven hours of instruction from a judge who said them that acts of civil disobedience were not covered by the basic defense Manning used—the defense of necessity—and that people acting necessarily to test the law should not escape the consequences of breaking it, the jurors took just six hours to do through the legal thickets and find the three doctors innocent. Manning had asked the jury to send a message to Parliament that they had the power to send a message to the politicians that they would not erect doctors who were acting in good faith to help others, they said in two words that the abortion law is unconstitutional. But they sent another message too. Twelve people chosen out of a random list of 132 citizens of the city of Toronto had revealed that the conservatism in the Canadian air is economic and

not social. Canadians voted for economic security and a tight hand on government purse strings and not for the American add-on to the package—a right-wing image of God and family which religious women to the kingdom of the home.

It was a stunning vindication for Morgentaler, his colleagues and the pro-choice movement in Canada, which has been lobbying feebly for change since the early 1970s. But it was a defeat as well. Ideas deeper in the hearts of such right-to-life men as Laura McArthur, president of the Right to Life Association of Toronto and Area, who had sat vigilantly in Toronto courthouses for much of the past year, watching first the progress of Morgentaler's constitutional challenge of the law—which he lost—and then the criminal trial. The message the verdict sent to activists, including McArthur and Winnipeg anti-abortionist Jas Barrows, who lost the fine round of his challenge of the law on behalf of Canadian fetuses in October, 1983, was that they had lost a crucial battle for conscience. They say they represent the grassroots of Canadian democracy: here was the grassroots telling them that that was not the case. Their reaction was to attack the jury and the jury selection process, in which Manning had hired two American jury consultants to help him pick the 12 most crucial jurors of his career. Barrows charged that Manning had done everything but administer saliva tests to ensure a "pro-abortion jury." McArthur attacked them on the grounds that they were too grassroots. Manning tried for "blue collar, mass workers," she charged, "who are distracted by their wants. He wanted the transient, young, naive type of people who, in his mind, would be for abortion." Not liking the message, they could not listen to a jury scrutinized for bias by both the defense and prosecuting counsel, equally divided as to sex, and whose members, while generally young, belonged to all classes of the vastest grassroots from an electrical engineer to a pregnant teenage-center mother.

The truth is too painful in its implications for the pro-life movement in Canada. In the case of Morgentaler's earlier acquittal, they could excuse the unanimous vote of the jurors as the grounds that "hard cases make bad law." In Quebec, Morgentaler was on trial for procuring illegal abortions on two very specific names. The first was a young foreign student from Sierra Leone, sister of her rights, poor, unmarried, alone. The second was a teenage Italian girl, pregnant on the wrong side of a white wedding. The jury did not convict because after hearing the testimony of the two women, they could see that the doctor had operated out of compassion, how could they send a verdict to jail him? In Toronto, however, the stars were different. Morgentaler, Scott and Swinford faced conspiracy charges, the Crown sought no women to the stand to prove its case, no living testimony to the specific illnesses that caused the women who came to the Toronto clinic to choose abortion. In defense, all Manning could offer was abstract evidence of the system that women found in trying to get abortions in Canada. The strategy he presented to the jurors was to even to the extent of using the same witnesses—the situation he had presented to Associate Chief Justice William Parker when he had unsuccessfully tried to get the law overturned. The jury listened first to the Crown's case, which established beyond all doubt what the doctors had already publicly admitted to: they had been performing abortions in Toronto



Morgentaler not a hero, for critics of private conscience and public controversy

outside the law. And then the jury listened to the situation—with its abstractions of unequal power, complicated rules, delays, committee vagueness, unrepresented members of women forced to go out of the province or even out of the country to get what hospitals were reluctant to provide. And they agreed with Manning's clients that Section 281 of the Criminal Code should not force women who needed abortions through all those legal hoops.

Right-to-life can hear to listen to the revealed nature of the Toronto jury's decision: it would tell them that they have lost—that 33 ordinary people recognized that society has changed so much that a 15-year-old reform of the law is obsolete, unnecessarily dangerous to women, uncomfortable. Women work, and need to work, and want to work—and society has not yet figured out how to make child-bearing and work fit together in a way that does not require women to control their fertility. With inadequate and sometimes unsafe means of contraception—combined with a strong belief that women should be able to become pregnant

when it best for them and their families—abortion has become the logical backup, an extension of contraception and part of the recent revolution in the way people think about reproduction. Society's clock cannot be turned back to a last time when women accepted the family and children fit into a mother-cared-for place between them. By holding tightly to an absolute belief that all abortions in all circumstances are bad, and by insisting that an absolute legal ban on all abortions is the only moral option in a distant society can condone, right-to-life doctors send themselves to ineffective railing against something they truly cannot alter.

The jury has now said that the morality of abortion is a matter of private conscience and responsibility, and not the territory of laws and therapeutic abortion committees. If it is justice who are asked to judge Henry Morgentaler, the odds are that jurors will continue to acquit him.

At the root of the right-to-life movement is a legitimate fear and horror of the way in which society treats women and children, the elderly, the disabled, the mentally retarded—all those who have no obvious value in the marketplace, and whose lot in life seems severely threatened by the exigencies of the late-20th-century world. The movement says that North American society is selfish and intolerantly materialistic—and the movement is right. But that message is obscured, even to the movement itself, by its equation of abortion to murder, by its unimpaired insistence that people like Henry Morgentaler are morally in the wrong.

If the right-to-life movement could take the jury decision concerning Morgentaler as a sign, instead of a horrible defeat requiring desperate measures, it might be able to change the thrust of its action to making the situation not the system. The example of Abigail Laguez springs to mind, a Catholic professor of bioethics at the University of Toronto who was one of the consultants to the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops' most recent statement on abortion, *Abigail's Reflection on Respect for Life*. She is opposed to abortion and the kind of civil disobedience that Morgentaler advocates, but she says that in a pluralistic society the law is not the place to enforce a particular morality. Her mode of action? She suspended her own teaching career to take a certificate as a child-care worker at the University of Toronto so that she could more credibly lobby for day care in the workplace. She has daughters who want to have careers and children, and she wants to see a society where that kind of choice does not mean the kind of choice that sometimes leads to abortion. Lynch, and others like her, could make common ground with women now working in the pro-choice movement. The result could be not just freedom to choose not to have a child, but freedom to choose to bear one. Anne Collins has written *The Boy Who Aborted*. The issue that *What's Going On* will be published next year by Lester & Orpen Dennys.



# Abortion wins another round

By Hal Quinn

Ever since Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's government legalized Canada's abortion laws in 1983, the debate between people who say that a woman should have an abortion if she wishes and others who say that she should not has raged without respite. And as seems to abortion has become freer in many other countries, growing numbers of Canadians have opined that Canada has lagged be-

hind—indeed that legal abortions have gradually become harder to obtain. The Criminal Code's Section 281 made provision for an abortion only when a woman's life or health, physical or mental, would be otherwise threatened—and only a therapeutic abortion committee (TAC) attached to an approved hospital could make that decision. But public dissatisfaction with the committee system gained new momentum last week when an Ontario Superior Court, very acquiescent Dr. Henry Morgentaler and two other physicians of conspiring to procure an abortion.

The 60-year-old Montreal doctor's victory in his crusade to make abortion

more available to women came as a surprise for both sides in the controversial abortion debate. Although he had won three acquittals over the previous 14 years in Quebec, it had seemed almost certain that a jury in Ontario, a province especially notable for the conservative character of its inhabitants, would follow the letter of the law—a high Morgentaler freely admitted having broken. But once again a jury—of six men and six women—sat behind him and, by doing so, indicated to legislators across Canada that a review of the country's abortion laws might well be overdue. Outside the courtroom Morgentaler proclaimed: "This is one of the happiest days of my life. We have a victory for the women of Canada, for the system of democracy, for reason."

**Bleeds:** As word of the verdict spread, callers jammed telephone lines to the Canadian Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL) in Toronto with congratulations and offers of donations to the three doctors' legal defense fund. An elated CARAL president, Norma Scarborough, said that she would use newspaper advertisements, direct-mail campaigns and fund-raising events to raise the \$200,000 needed for the de-

fence. And Judy Rubick, spokeswoman for the Morgentaler Clinic, hoped the government would recognize that the law was unenforceable, forestalling the need to raise money for future court battles. That evening Morgentaler, defense lawyer Morris Manning and 100 supporters toasted the win with wine and Scotch at a private party. Two days later a cheering throng of placard-bearing "pro-choice" marchers wound triumphantly along a rain-darkened street as drivers honked their horns in apparent agreement.

Ottawa law professor Edward Rostoway: "We have a law which juries are reluctant to enforce, a prosecution arm that feels it is necessary to outstep to lay charges to maintain respect for the law, a political system paralyzed and too frightened to take legislative action, an electorate with strong views at both poles of the issue, resulting in a legal and political system that is frozen."

**Choice:** That institutional paralysis is in marked contrast to the emotion-charged debate surrounding an issue that touches almost all Canadians. It is a debate that by its very nature—an argument concerning human life—has produced a clash of values, deep differences and bitter polemics. Opponents of abortion, if they yield at all on the issue, argue that all fetuses are human and should be given the same protection as if continued pregnancy would endanger a woman's life. They include large num-

bers of Roman Catholics and fundamentalist religious groups. Many belong to such organizations as Campaign for Life, a national anti-abortion group. And all gather under the umbrella heading of "pro-life." On the other side is a loosely defined, nonideological network of women's rights groups which argue that the basic issue is one of women's control over their own bodies.

Representative members of both sides were quick to react to last week's decision. In Winnipeg anti-abortion crusader Joseph Bernowski, president of Alliance Against Abortion, declared: "I am disgusted and angry. It is a black day for the country and for the unborn." At the same time Hilary Clark, chairman of the board of Iona Gata Hospital in Vancouver, said: "I am absolutely thrilled. I am so very nervous about a society that forces women who have conceived to have a baby."

Although the issue is argued in the courts, as hospital boards across the country and among individual family members, the courts remain the major battleground for the fight over Canada's abortion laws. Yet Conservative Justice Minister John Crossley has expressed doubts that Morgentaler's latest acquittal would lead to a change in those laws. Declared Crossley: "This is an issue on which there is no social consensus." But Liberal justice critic Robert Kaplan replied that the verdict "indicates that one, in the province of Ontario as in Quebec, there is no law affecting abortion. It destroys the whole

process that still has a tail—no legal abortions have been performed since 1983. Dr. Thomas Moore, in an abortion case in Saskatchewan, explained that pressure from anti-abortion groups became so strong that the Prince George TAC imposed the strictest procedures and has become "virtually inactive." As a result, women from Regina, Vancouver Island seeking abortions now go elsewhere, primarily Montreal or Bar Harbor, Me.

That demonstrates the strength of the Right to Life Association as the latest of the most powerful single-issue group in the province since the end of prohibition. Comprising approximately 550 members, mainly Protestant and Catholic fundamentalists, the association claimed its greatest victory in 1981 when it ousted the incumbent mayor of the Quebec town of Saguenay in Charlotville, the province's largest hospital, and voted down a proposal to establish a therapeutic abortion committee. And last June the association held about 10 votes short of the necessary two-thirds majority to abolish the TAC at Prince George hospital. Despite that defeat, said Moore, their pressure rendered the TAC "all but irrelevant." Last week the association sent a telegram to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and Justice Minister Crossley which read: "We strongly object to the acquittal of Dr. Morgentaler, as he is breaking the laws of Canada."

**Control:** The struggle has been equally intense in British Columbia, where the pro-life movement has attempted to reduce the number of abortions performed in hospitals by gaining control of hospital boards of directors. Those boards, which oversee the doctors as therapeutic abortion committees, are themselves elected bodies chosen by members of hospital associations. At Iona Gata in Vancouver, anyone who pays a \$5 membership fee is eligible to attend the board's annual meeting and select the 12-member board. In 1979, by organizing a membership drive, the pro-life movement succeeded in electing five members to the board. They have not gained control of the board since because the pro-choice movement mounted a membership drive the following year. As a result, annual board meetings cannot be drawn about 25 votes before 1979 are now held in hockey rinks, with as many as 5,000 members in attendance. During the struggle for control between the two factions there has been a slow decline in the number of abortions performed at the hospital to an estimated 600 so far this year (from 985 in 1982).

In Hamilton, Ont., one woman who became involved in the pro-choice movement is Dr. May Cohen, and she did so directly because of her experi-



Morgentaler and supporter Selma Edelstone, a private party with wine and Scotch before the parade of news and cheers.



Anti-abortionist Bernowski. It is a black day for the country and for the unborn.

ties laws might well be overdue. Outside the courtroom Morgentaler proclaimed: "This is one of the happiest days of my life. We have a victory for the women of Canada, for the system of democracy, for reason."

But the harsh reality for Morgentaler remained as unchanged as the law he so persistently opposes. He still faces charges of operating an abortion clinic in Winnipeg, and Ontario Attorney General Roy McMurtry was to decide this week if he will appeal the Toronto verdict. Morgentaler also made it clear that he was prepared to risk new charges when he declared that he would reopen his clinic as soon as he could reimburse his staff and recover the equipment that police confiscated in their July 1983 raid. All that left behind provincial and federal officials to face more difficult decisions in the weeks and months to come. Said University of

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Enner and (right) Scarborough and Robick: an intensely personal matter and at the same time one of great public concern

## COVER

cases as the face of a suburban Toronto hospital (which she preferred not to identify). As chairman of the committee, Cohen discovered that the hospital's board favored approving abortions only for girls under 12 years of age who had been raped and for women over 45 who had hypertension.

**RHODE** As a result of what she called "the behavior situation for doctors and patients," Cohen, now on the staff of McEwen Medical Centre in Hamilton, is a member of Doctors for the Repeal of the Abortion Law (DRAL), and has lobbied in Ottawa for CANAC. Said Cohen, "The Taché criteria are really based on the personal moral values of members of the hospital's board. That is exactly what is so capricious about the abortion law. If the committee does not follow the board's guidelines, then the board could do away with the committee. It is based on nothing that is strictly legal, but just on a sort of lobby."

But Mary Lynam, 36, a Winnipeg lawyer and president of the 5,000-member League for Life, is equally convinced that the views of the anti-abortion movement will prevail. Declared Lynam: "By the year 2000 not only will this fight be won but you will have trouble finding anyone who will admit they are pro-abortion. This is not just a religious issue, it is a human rights issue. I had an unwelcome and unplanned pregnancy and now my son is a research physicist and one of my best friends. How could anyone argue I could have killed him if I wanted?"

The Roman Catholic Church is strongly on the side of the right-to-life movement, and Archbishop John Ruse of Winnipeg is among its most active members. Last year Ruse threatened to excommunicate a Catholic nurse working in Morgentaler's Winnipeg clinic, and before last September's federal election he and five other Manitoba bishops issued a public letter urging voters not to support politicians who favor abortion. Commenting on Morgentaler's acquittal, the archbishop declared "I am very disappointed with what transpired in the court in Ontario. I am also concerned with the precedent set in our judicial system. I get the impression that the jury judged the law rather than the accused and took on the role of legislators. That worries me. If that becomes a normal practice, it could be disastrous."

For his part, Borowski, a devout Catholic known as "Baby Joe," says that if it will stop the spread of abortion clinics he is prepared to match Morgentaler's open hostility of the law. Said Borowski: "If Morgentaler is prepared to break the law because he thinks it is bad, then I am prepared to break the law because I think it is bad. If he comes here, God help him and God help me." And in Toronto, Laura McArthur, president of the Right to Life

Association, said: "We have seen a mockery of the jury system. I am wondering if I can go out tonight and break the law to save one little baby. If people get desperate, they will do anything."

**LEWIS** McArthur has not yet gone beyond rhetoric about desperate measures, but her comment aptly described the condition of some women who become pregnant and must confront the reality of abortion. One Ottawa woman told Rhodes that delays in obtaining a legal abortion in Canada forced her to travel to New York City in 1979 and undergo an operation there. "The memory of the abortion is as fresh in my mind as if it happened yesterday," she said. "I felt bitter and angry at the self-righteous Canadian government that I felt had put me through this terrible ordeal." On the return

flight to Ottawa the flight attendants were handing out deBoltis to all women passengers for Mother's Day. "I just cried at the irony," she said.

Still, another woman who had a similar experience has a markedly different view about the Morgentaler verdict. Twelve years ago, an unmarried and only 13, Mary Hughes of Calgary calmly submitted to her boyfriend's and doctor's arguments that her pregnancy be termi-

nated. Yet Hughes had to travel to Burlington, Wash., to have her abortion. The reason, as a cousin she needed the consent of grandparents who had raised her before the operation could be performed in Calgary, and she could not convince the cousin to approach her grandfather because he was dying. Hughes recalled that the full implications of her decision did not strike her until she married and had the first of four children. "All of a sudden," she said, "it hit home that what I had destroyed was a baby and not the contents of my uterus."

Now, Hughes runs a counselling service in Calgary for women who have had or are considering abortions. Said Hughes: "I have talked to many women who have actually had abortions than anyone else in Canada and I have not met one person who has gone through an abortion 'not-free.'" Hughes's Abortion Outreach Centre, which she operates out of her home, is now in its seventh year and has a volunteer staff of 35. Added Hughes, who wants to start similar services in Vancouver, Edmonton, Toronto and Sudbury next year: "You do not even find your best friend admitting that she had an abortion."

**PERAZA** Abortion is an intensely personal matter and at the same time it is also a matter of great public concern. Clearly, Morgentaler's acquittal in Toronto last week leaves lawmakers in the difficult position of enforcing a law that is becoming steadily less enforceable. And the lawmakers have only conflicting arguments, polls, statistics—and their own consciences—to guide them in their deliberations. Yet the sheer numbers of Canadian women undergoing abortions (roughly 70,000 in 1982) and the continuing force over the abortion laws that have remained unaltered for almost a generation indicate a review of the situation in the near future.

A 1985 Gallup poll showed that 83 per cent of Canadians think abortion should be legal under any circumstances, 59 per cent only under certain circumstances, and 17 per cent illegal in all circumstances. Still another poll, taken one year earlier, showed that fully 92 per cent of Canadians believed that if abortions were made illegal in this country, women would still find ways to obtain them. Those figures—and Henry Morgentaler's fourth conviction—underscore that abortion, fundamentally a personal concern, will remain an impassioned public issue in desperate search of resolution.

**With Diane Lockyer in Vancouver, Gordon Legg in Calgary, Andrew Nikiforuk in Winnipeg, Robert Roth in Toronto, Michael Chretien and Mary Macdonald in Ottawa, Eowyn Wells in Charlotteville, Chris Wood in Saint John and Warren Adelman in Halifax.**

Morgentaler insists



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# 75 years of abortion-law landmarks

By Mary Janigan

The woman was only a teenager in the 1890s when the Great Depression ravaged the country. She and her young husband had a 10-month-old baby, a remarkable cottage and an income of \$100 a month. When she unintentionally became pregnant again, they borrowed \$100 to pay a doctor who performed abortions—without anesthesia—in the basement of his house. In 1978, in another-must-worse testimony before a federal committee examining Canada's revised abortion law, that woman, then a 65-year-old mother of four, vividly recalled the "shame, terror and brutality" of the operation, and declared, "I would not wish such pain on the vilest criminal." When she began hemorrhaging a week later, she said, "I thought I might bleed to death." Until 15 years ago, most women undergoing an abortion in Canada had to go outside the law—and run the attendant risks. Now, Dr. Henry Morgentaler's latest acquittal on abortion charges has brought the abortion issue under more intense and impassioned scrutiny than ever.

**Backstory** Before amendments were made to the Criminal Code in 1968, a demonstrable risk to a pregnant woman's life or health were the conditions that permitted an abortion. A Saskatchewan Supreme Court established the principle in 1909 that an abortion could be performed to save a life. Then, in a 1938 British case, *Roe vs. Bourne*, which helped set precedents throughout the Commonwealth, the court held that abortion is lawful when performed in good faith to preserve a female's life or her physical or mental health. Still, in the absence of specific legislation, Canadian doctors were generally reluctant to perform an operation because it tended making a personal interpretation of the law and it could result in a jail term. As a result,

backstreet abortions flourished: between 1900 and 1972, police charged 1,700 individuals with procuring or attempting to procure an abortion, and arrests numbered 1,156 of them. On average, 12 women died each year between 1950 and 1960 from criminal or self-induced abortions.

When the Liberal government amended Section 261 of the Criminal Code in 1969, it did not legalize abortions but simply recognized existing cu-

The history of abortion-law precedents since 1969 is essentially the history of Morgentaler himself. In 1975 he served 10 months of a 18-month sentence when the Quebec Court of Appeal reversed a Montreal jury acquittal on a charge of performing an illegal abortion. The Supreme Court of Canada upheld the appeal court decision. But while Morgentaler was in jail, a second jury acquitted him on another charge of performing an illegal abortion. In the midst of a parliamentary storm over police reversing jury decisions, Justice Minister Ronald Macdonald ordered a new trial. In September, 1976, a jury acquitted him for the third time. The Quebec attorney general's department has prosecuted no more abortion cases, and abortion clinics—which are not affiliated with accredited hospitals—operate freely in that province.

**Protections** Two other recent cases also stand as legal landmarks in the abortion dispute. Last March, Ontario Supreme Court Justice Horace Krever ruled that the father has no right to question the decision of a hospital committee that has approved an abortion. That decision defused Toronto theatre manager Alex Medved's attempt to prevent his estranged wife, Christine, from having an abortion. And in October, 1983, the Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench dismissed

an argument by anti-abortionist Joseph Borowski that women are legal persons. Borowski demanded protection for the fetus under the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and his case is expected to go before the Saskatchewan Court of Appeal next spring.

Clearly, Morgentaler's lengthy court battles—and courts have encouraged those who want to make abortion more accessible. Declared federal Justice Minister John Crosbie, "I think it is very obvious that this is an issue that divides the people of Canada." Indeed, few cases have so divided the nation since

optimism in case law: abortion was permitted if the pregnancy would likely endanger the mother's "life or health." Since then, doctors have been able to perform abortions if they are approved by a committee of at least three qualified doctors in an accredited hospital. In 1970, 11,152 Canadian residents had legal abortions. The numbers increased greatly during the early 1970s but they have remained almost constant for the past several years. In 1982, according to the latest figures from Statistics Canada, there were 66,219 legal abortions—or 17.8 for every 100 live births.

**Crisis** railing that few issues have so divided the Canadian people.

Crises railing that few issues have so divided the Canadian people.

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## A major risk earns a stunning victory

**B**efore Associate Chief Justice William Parker of the Ontario Superior Court sent the jury out last week to decide the fate of Dr. Henry Morgentaler and his colleagues Robert Scott and Leslie Swelling on charges of conspiring to produce a miscarriage, he spent four hours scuzzing up the case. Then, Morris Manning, the doctor-lawyer, objected that Judge Parker's statement was "testimony to a charge to convict." In the jury's absence, he added that the judge had failed to make it clear that the jurors had the right to

health and even the lives of pregnant women. In what Manning called "the great Ontario telephone lottery," women had to work their way through the Yellow Pages under HOSPITALS trying to obtain an abortion. Often they failed. The three defendants may have broken the law, said Manning, but they did so to prevent a greater wrong. Declared Manning: "These jurors are entitled to send a message to the legislature to say, 'We will not cower on the

In his narration Parker deeply dis-

a sociologist, and Katharyn Marks, a lawyer, who had helped to select the California jury that acquitted businessman John DeLoach on cocaine conspiracy charges last August. After the *Washington Post* Farns revealed that she and her colleague had advised Manning not to select anyone he suspected might be a regular churchgoer—even though the judge did not allow lawyers to question jurors about religion. Generally, they were looking for independent people rather than dependent or conforming individuals.

Candidates who referred to Morgentaler as "Jimmy" instead of "Doctor" were also ruled out.

**Chopped:** After the socialist, anti-abortionists reacted furiously to what they called the lady's biased opinion, said Laura McArthur, president of the Toronto-based Right to Life Association. "I do not have faith in a system in which 12 people are picked that do not represent the people. There are people in this country who have religious and moral views on abortion, whom they simply chopped out." McArthur regrets that the Crows had an equal right to reject candidates for any reason.

The Turens yesterday followed the example of the three Guebriens that equated McGovern with similar changes in the 1970s. Now, Ontario Attorney General Roy McMurtry must decide whether the province will appeal McGovern's latest victory. But according to the so-called *Margaretville Amendment* to the Criminal Code, setting out of the abortion crusader's earlier court battles in Quebec, a Court of Appeal judge can no longer overturn a jury's decision. McGovern can only request that an Appeal Court order a new trial. Margaretville has blinded

—**ANNETTE BLOCK**



reach any verdict they wished, regardless of what they had heard in open court. The next day Parker addressed the jury again for three hours, but Manning eluded his contention that the thrust of the judge's charge was that the six men and six women must find the defendants guilty if the three doctors had broken the letter of the law. In the end, the jury behaved as independently as Manning and his clients could possibly have hoped.

**Wrong** Manning solidified his victory by taking a major risk. Instead of basing his case on the argument that Mergenthauser and his colleagues had not broken the law, he argued that it was necessary for them to break the law and that they were justified in so doing. Manning said that Ontario's current procedure for obtaining legal abortions, requiring applicants to win approval from hospital-appointed committees, resembled the

agreed his attack on Manning's use of "the defense of necessity" and instructed the jurors that it applied only to emergencies in which compliance with the law is impossible. He said that the peril to women forced to wait for abortions did not justify the doctors' actions and he added that Manning's advice to the jury to ignore the present law was "improper." Parker told the jurors "Your duty is to decide the facts and then apply the law. You are not here to judge the law and you have no right to do so."

The men and women listening to these arguments attracted national attention not only because of the notoriety of the trial—and the decisions they eventually reached—but also because of the process that had brought them together. In reporting 34 potential jurors, Manning had the help of two Washington-based consultants, Marjorie Pappas



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Women in Tunisia: unlike most Muslims they have free access to abortion

COVER

## An international dilemma

By Ann Finkelson

Over the past 30 years laws forbidding abortion have been struck down or at least modified throughout the world. More than 30 countries have liberalized abortion laws over the past 10 years. But despite the trend, debate over the issue has reached an unprecedented intensity as abortion opponents struggle to turn the tide. In the United States, which since 1973 has allowed free access to abortion, anti-abortion groups in five states have lobbied to curtail public funds to hospitals that perform them. And last week the voters of Colorado approved a similar measure in a referendum. Now, as pro-choice Supreme Court judges retire, their supporters say that President Ronald Reagan will appoint replacements who will overturn the law. The trend holds in other Western countries as well. In several Canadian provinces, social pressure has forced a decrease in the number of hospitals performing abortions.

But the backlash is not restricted to countries with recently liberalized laws. In Mexico, where the government ad-

mits that every fifth pregnancy ends in illegal abortions each year, a 1983 plan to liberalize the law slightly encountered so much public opposition that the government abandoned it outright. And a decision last year by Spain's socialist government to overturn one of the harshest anti-abortion laws in Europe, replacing it with one allowing abortions on limited medical grounds, sparked what one Spanish cleric called "the most serious attack against the church committed so far this century." Even in Ireland, where abortion under virtually all circumstances is illegal, Catholic opponents last year succeeded in persuading the government to amend the republic's constitution to ensure that the law can never be altered.

**Controversy** In Canada the abortion issue centres on a basic moral decision. But around the world the controversy is clouded by an almost limitless variety of traditions, laws and social and economic considerations. Thirty-six per cent of the world's 4.5 billion people live in countries where abortion is restricted, usually on religious grounds, according to the late Christopher Tietze, author of *Induced Abortion: A World Re-*

view, 1983. Ten per cent of them live in countries where it is prohibited in any circumstances, and a further 18 per cent live where abortion is permitted only to save the life of a pregnant woman. The citizens of most Muslim, African and Latin American countries, as well as five European states—Belgium, Ireland, Malta, Portugal and Spain—fall into these two categories. And eight per cent live in countries where abortion is allowed on broader medical grounds, usually if there is a threat to the woman's health or known impairment of the fetus.

Elsewhere, governments take greater account of social considerations when dealing with abortion laws. Twenty-five per cent of the world's population lives in countries whose governments permit women who are poor, unmarried, inadequately housed or otherwise disadvantaged to have abortions. India, Japan and the United Kingdom are all in that category.

**Control** The rest of the world's population lives in countries—including China, the United States, Italy, France, Sweden and most Eastern Bloc states—that allow free access to abortion, although the procedure is usually limited to the first three months of pregnancy. In some cases—Singapore, Taiwan and China—the policy reflects official determination to curb population growth. In the Soviet Union, where contraceptives are unpopular but small families are desirable, women use abortion as a form of birth control, averaging one each during their lifetimes. But more often, according to Tietze, liberal abortion laws reflect official concern about three factors: the high mortality rates associated with illegal abortions, inequality when abortion is available only to the rich, and women's growing demands for the right to control their own bodies.

The one factor that overbikes all discussions of international abortion laws is that official sanctions rarely prevent them. Recent United Nations estimates put the number of induced abortions each year as high as 55 million—4% interrupted pregnancies for every 50 live births. Authorities estimate that about half those abortions are illegal and that more than half take place in developing countries. The figures are speculative at best but they are supported by dramatic abortion increases in countries where laws have been liberalized, indicating the former extent of illegal abortions and the number of foreign women who seek abortions in countries where it is legal.

Still, even as the debate intensifies, millions of women continue to seek abortions—sometimes at great risk—and no argument or law has succeeded in stopping them.

# Banking on a Florida plan



Orange State's head office, Rosenberg renewed ambition and a desire that the takeover attempt is a laster one

By Patricia Bestand Ann Shortell

What is he offering? He offered out of a series of trailers, a single branch and only \$6 million worth of assets on its books. Miami's Orange State Bank is a far cry from the \$1.5-billion corporate empire Canadian financier Leonard Rosenberg attempted to build in Canada in 1982. But for Rosenberg the tiny Southern U.S. bank could mean much more. Maclean's has learned that Rosenberg is aiming a group of nine investors attempting to buy Orange State. If they succeed, the deal will mark the first concrete evidence that Rosenberg—who would become chairman of the bank's board—a building again after his bid to create a financial empire by buying up Canadian trust companies, failed last year when the Ontario government seized his holdings following a controversial multimillion-dollar real estate flip.

Rosenberg says that his proposed stake in the bank will be only a modest five per cent, worth about \$100,000, but the future of the plan may hinge on his past dealings. Since Ontario took over Rosenberg's two major holdings, Greyhound Trust Co. and the Crown Trust Co., Canadian officials have been embroiled in a complex investigation of his dealings, particularly the apartment affair

The Orange State deal pales in comparison to the massive 1982 real estate flip, in which Rosenberg bought and immediately resold 10,901 Toronto apartment units for a \$45-million profit to William Place of Elmville, Ont. Flayed there turned around and resold the buildings, this time to a series of numbered companies said to be owned by Amib investors. The resulting public outcry over the deal sparked the Canadian probe into the affairs of Rosenberg and his associates.

Florida state officials, who must approve the transaction, plan to conduct the various Ontario officials involved in the investigation. The Ontario government, trust company officials and lawyers for Rosenberg are all involved in more than a dozen slow-moving civil court suits and counter-suits. In its suits the government charges that the property transaction was a sham, while legal actions by Rosenberg and his associates claim that their property rights have been violated by the seizures.

Rosenberg has also complained that the Ontario government put

him out of business without ever having proved any wrongdoing on his part. But he says that he has sufficient funds to take part in the Orange State deal. The \$100,000 for the bank, he says, came from three sources over the past year: a consulting job with a renovation firm in his new hometown of Miami, stock market dealings, and lender's fees he has received for matching prospective borrowers with sources of financing. But despite his proposed appointment as the bank's chairman of the board, Rosenberg denies that the Orange State proposal marks a return to his old ways.

Said Rosenberg: "It means that somebody asked me if I wanted to invest with a group of people and I said, 'Why not?'"

As required by Florida law, Rosenberg has filed detailed information as to his past dealings and future intentions with the state's Bureau of Licensing and Chartering. Rick Martin, an administrator in Florida's licensing bureau, said that the final decision on Rosenberg's proposed purchase will not be made until 90 days after his office receives



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additional referrals requested from the group of investors, including Rosenberg. Once that arrives, a number of factors will come into play. Said Martin: "Our situation requires us to review the financial strength of the individuals as well as their character and business history." As part of its search, Martin's office also plans to contact Rosenberg's attorney, the Ontario government. If that happens, George McIntyre, the assistant deputy minister for financial institutions in Ontario's ministry of consumer and commercial relations, said, "We would tell them what we perceive are the facts."

The Crown/Geismac Trust seems to see the only area that the Florida officials will likely look at. In September, 1981, Rosenberg made an attempt to buy into another Miami-based bank, the federally chartered Diocesi National Bank. But his \$96-million takeover offer was ultimately stalled by lack of funding and U.S. federal officials' concerns about Rosenberg's financial stability and his past business dealings. While Orange State has a Florida charter, federal officials will have a say in approving the current proposed deal as well because the target bank is a member of the U.S. Federal Reserve System.

Rosenberg's pop psychology personality has at times made the so-called trust company affair seem like a personal vendetta between the founder and Robert Elgin, Ontario's consumer and commercial relations minister. The re-verberations from the Montreal-born financier's business dealings are still being felt. The government has either sold most of the assets of his trust companies or placed them in the hands of receivers, but the tenants in the Toronto apartment remain in limbo. For the moment, the building's properties are being managed by receivers, and a conflict could erupt between the Ontario and federal governments over the disposal of the real estate. The federal government's Canada Deposit Insurance Corp., which lent the second trust new pieces money to pay back depositors, wants to get as much as it can out of a sale. For Ontario's Progressive Conservative government that poses many political problems. A drastically low price would depress real estate markets. An excessively high one would anger tenants whose rents would likely rise.

Whatever the outcome of the Florida bank bid, an ongoing Ontario Provincial Police investigation in Canada may still continue without resolution for some time. And while Rosenberg insists from his new Florida office that there is no legitimate reason for criminal charges, Ronald Carr, the founder's principal lawyer, adds warily "We anticipate charges. We would be very unrealistic if we did not."

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## A Tory's pitch to business

By Ross Laver

It is a rare moment when Canada's business leaders find something in common to cheer about—and rarer still when the object of their praise is the federal government. Still, in corporate boardrooms across the country last week the reaction to Finance Minister Michael Wilson's first economic statement was almost universally favorable—albeit with reservations. Said Raymond Smith, president of forestry giant MacMillan Bloedel Ltd. of Vancouver: "We have been waiting for a long time that Ottawa has to start cutting the deficit. Certainly the new government appears to be making the right moves." Many economists also shared Wilson's professed desire to cut federal spending next year, although some cautioned that—at least in the short term—Ottawa's moves are likely to dampen economic growth, boding ill for the country's 1.4 million unemployed.

The goal of Wilson's exercise is simple: to reduce the competition between the government and private borrowers for available funds, a rivalry that some economists and businessmen say has helped to push up interest rates. Even so, business spokesmen said that last week's announced cuts were modest by Ottawa standards and that much more fat will have to be trimmed. In all, the finance minister said that, beginning next April, about \$3.5 billion will be withheld from the total federal spending in the 1985-86 fiscal year, and the government will collect some \$790 mil-

lion more in revenue. At the same time, Wilson acknowledged, the deficit will actually increase to almost \$55 billion from \$34.5 billion this year. Said J. Peter Gordon, chairman of steelmaker Stelco Inc. of Toronto: "So far, Mr. Wilson has only dropped the first shoe. The real magnitude of the reduction probably will not be known until the budget next spring." Added Elizabeth's Bay Co. vice-president William Evans: "The process of economic renewal is under way, but there is a great deal more yet to be done."

Almost to see in business circles expects a surge in corporate investment. Throughout the summer election campaign Progressive Conservative leader Brian Mulroney predicted confidently that his victory would release a tide of domestic and foreign investment, creating tens of thousands of new jobs. That theme was also echoed in Wilson's announcement last week that the ruling, and Liberal, Thorburn, senior vice-president of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, is still reluctant to spend money on new plants and machinery and will re-evaluate so until consumer demand starts to pick up.

Said Thorburn: "It could be a while before we see any significant change."

More pessimistic analysts argue that in the process of trying to rebuild the economy, the Tories may actually nudge it closer to a recession. According to Michael McCracken of the Ottawa-based economic forecasting firm Information Ltd., the planned reductions in federal outlays will add between 40,000 and 50,000 people to the unemployment rolls. Said McCracken: "I am not terribly happy about all of these moves, but at least it puts Wilson in a good bargaining position. He can now say to business that he has done his part and that it is up to them to start spending like they said they would."

For his part, Allan Maslove, director of the School of Public Administration at Carleton University, said the finance minister's claim that a lower federal deficit will spur growth "is more a statement of faith than a conclusion based on economic analysis." For one thing, Maslove said, the amount of federal borrowing has only a marginal impact on interest rates, which are determined mostly by borrowing costs in the United States. He added, "What is driving the deficit upward is not economic government spending but reduced revenues caused mainly by high unemployment and a wide range of personal and corporate tax expenditures in the Registered Retirement Savings Plans." Indeed, even the conservative-minded C.D. Howe Institute, a Toronto-based economic think tank, estimated last week that only one-third of the federal deficit is structural. The rest would disappear if the country's resources were fully employed and inflation eliminated, the institute said.

Wilson's plan to raise Canadian oil and gas prices to world levels also contains potential perils. Analysts pointed out that the current glut on world markets means that the move is unlikely to spur much new exploration. At the same time, higher energy prices will reduce the amount of money in Canadians' pockets and exacerbate economic sluggishness.

In the end, it seems likely that Canada's economic future will be influenced less by Wilson's announcements than by the worldwide reaction of U.S. President Ronald Reagan. Explained Richard Flinn, an economist at the University of Alberta in Edmonton: "If Reagan agrees to reduce his own deficit, then interest rates will fall and we will all come out of this smogging like roses; if not, we had better prepare ourselves for another recession." □

Gordon more to come



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# Mulroney shows his colors

By Peter C. Newman

Brian Mulroney has at last set out the ideology of his administration. It will be cautiously progressive and tentatively pragmatic, rejecting the notion that there is necessarily border or that social welfare and corporate taxation are the ultimate aims of the political process.

The projected reduction in federal spending which could eventually lead to a manageable national debt is only the first step in a carefully orchestrated restructuring of the country's economic priorities. Finance Minister Michael Wilson hinted darkly about how his new measures reflected a "sober judgment about the recent past" and that "it is time to reduce the future of all Canadians."

In parliament last night, it is hard to argue with Wilson's unstated notion that another decade of Trudeau's brand of liberalism would have bankrupted the Canadian economy. The Trudeau approach, as he himself described it, was best encapsulated in a two-off line during the 1968 election campaign, when he was asked about his political philosophy: "I want to see where my ideas lead," he explained. "I don't feel bound by any doctrines or rigid approaches." The net effect of such dilution was that, during the 16 years Trudeau was in power, the Liberal-led little more than either the benevolent initiatives that originate from Ottawa's senior civil servants. It was that process which pushed the deficit to more than \$14 billion from \$600 million in 1968.

What Mulroney realized even before he took office was that he had to cut severely the proportion of the federal budget that is nonessential (in other words, pompous). If he wanted a chance to begin right-sizing his own fiscal program, the Wilson economic statement was the opening salvo.

Dressed in his parliamentary blues, the finance minister toured all the appropriate bases, parroting those buzz phrases dear to the cozy cynos-dwellers of Bay Street. There is nothing, absolutely nothing that makes the chief executive officer of any Canadian corporation salivate with more pleasure than watching a federal minister of finance proclaim he is determined to "restore a better business climate" by "putting our fiscal house in order"—and know that he means it.

But controlling the federal deficit is not merely a garnish to the business

Establishment. As the Mulroney Throne Speech solemnly stated earlier in the week: "[I]t is allowed to grow out of control [the deficit] with ominous new available financial resources, undermine our capacity to respond to new opportunities, put increased pressure on interest rates and inhibit investment and growth in our economy."

By pumping an extra \$4 billion into job creation and procuring such sensible measures as tax relief for job train-



Wilson, more than brave cliché

ee benefits, the PCs took the sting out of accusations that they are turning reactionary and aiming to please the business community while ignoring the possibilities of the country's 14 million jobs.

The weakness of the Mulroney approach is that it will work only if the private sector responds by giving capital investment the kick start that has been absent for most of the past decade. It is not consumer spending that creates jobs on a massive scale, only by industry expanding production lines, building new factories, sinking new oil wells

and drilling more oil wells can the unemployment figures be seriously reduced. In that context, the yet-to-be-drafted front-end financing available for oil sands megaprojects in Alberta could be the Wilson statement's most important item.

The problem is that in the past the private and public sectors have viewed economic development from almost opposite directions. For business, the decision whether or not to expand has been a straightforward equation: will it help our bottom line? For politicians, the choice has been equally simple: will it help us get re-elected?

There are not compatible goals. To bridge the gap past governments have injected jobs of taxpayers' money into megaprojects (the Beaufort, for example), almost forcing businessmen to launch capital projects—usually in economically remote areas.

Mulroney can't have it both ways. He must hang tough in his determination to cut the deficit, because if he doesn't he won't be able to run for re-election with much credibility. Yet he cannot provide business executives with the size and type of fiscal incentive they have taken for granted in the past, before convincing their companies to meaningful growth.

What Mulroney and Wilson are really demanding is an act of faith by the business community, that it will become what it has always claimed to be: a band of men and women who not only respect the brave clichés of free enterprise but actually believe and act on them. This will require the revivification of a few spirit of entrepreneurship within Canada's private sector, a return to the halcyon days of C.D. Howe when business and government in this country found a way to co-operate for their mutual benefit. When that partnership flourished, Canadians enjoyed the world's second-highest standard of living, and unemployment was well below five per cent.

It may be too late to attempt such a metamorphosis. The private sector's resistance for initiative may have been dashed by too many years of licensing, tax breaks and running in Ottawa to lobby for help at the slightest sign of trouble. If that is true, the Wilson approach will not work, and more drastic measures will have to be treated out.

For the moment, the Mulroney option offers a chance for economic survival and even prosperity without any drastic overhaul in the core values that make up the Canadian psyche.

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MEDIA WATCH

# A magazine killed by dubious numbers

By George Bain

Recently, a friend received a glowing envelope in the mail. It contained a letter from Richard Vipond, president of A.C. Nielsen Co. of Canada Ltd., the people who rate television programs. Also enclosed were two pages of instructions, 18 pages prepared as both sides of a sheet he was to keep at all times when there was anything more on the screen than dust, and one dollar. He read the letter, threw out the instructions and the bag, and returned the dollar without a suggestion about its disposal. Apart from a basic objection to politeness, he was offended by the proposition that his TV diary might assist television producers to make better programs. Intended respondents, he noted, were not asked to say what they would like to see but only to state what they were given to see. How, then, would this improving influence be exerted? If a majority indicated a preference for trash, the message to producers presumably would be to produce even more—and trasher—trash.

Against the rate of television, those of us who live mainly by print have consoled ourselves with the thought that at least we are not led to do what we do by the knowledge that the ultimate objective is to keep the greatest number of pairs of eyes in line on advertising matter. Television, we said, began with the commercial and was concerned with assembling an audience for it; in newspapers and magazines the process went the other way around. Articles were produced up to, or down to, whatever standard we set ourselves, but independently, advertisers were then sold space so that they could buddy up to the print. It makes a nice thought, good for self-esteem. It is only a pity that it is not more true.

When *Quest* magazine went down the drain on the afternoon of Nov. 6, Michael Knight, the editor, said, "There's no question about it—we got killed by the numbers." The numbers he referred to were numbers produced by the Print Measurement Bureau (PMB) in 1988 which purported to show that *Quest*'s readership—not circulation, which remained the same, but readership—had gone down, somewhat, to under 1 million from 1.6 million. Knight did not believe the figure then and he doesn't now; he says that if the PMB had shown that

readership had gone up by 600,000, he wouldn't have believed that either.

An expert was brought in from the United States to do an autopsy on the survey and, while he found some minor faults with the methodology, he could neither refute nor explain the loss of 600,000 readers virtually overnight. But it didn't matter. The 60 agencies, which buy space for clients on the basis of a magazine's "reach," quickly bucked off *Quest* lost \$1 million in 1984 and seemed headed for a loss of \$1.5 million in 1985. And that was that. The fact that *Quest* still had about one million readers—and that it had won four gold medals, equaling *Saturday Night* for the most, in the last National Magazine Awards—counted for nothing.

Reader surveys do not measure quality, but numbers of pairs of eyes. Some surveys make a vain attempt to find out what the eyes do by asking respondents whether they noted, read some or read most of an article, but usually it is enough for the respondent to have looked at the magazine and to remember having done so. Thus, magazines likely to be found in "high traffic areas"—in doctors' and dentists' waiting rooms, for example—will have high readers-per-copy ratings even though the individual's exposure to them may be fleeting. At the time *Quest* got the knock on the head from the PMB in 1988, its 718,000 circulation was said to reach 1.2 readers per copy, it went solely into homes. *Newsweek*, with 60,000 circulation in Canada, was rated at 14.6 readers per copy. Knight calls it a great recession, and it is.

What it means is that content does not matter—not, in any event, as much as it should. It may not matter, for instance, so much as opportunity to be seen. Most people in the business would say that Michael Knight made *Quest* into a good magazine devoted to large features (and so worse off for my nose having appeared in it). Now there is only one such magazine left on the national scene: *Saturday Night*. In the end, *Quest* might as well—better perhaps—have been a sex and magazine film with staff shoots, hand-painting luncheonettes and 12 ways to a happier life. In fact, Ontario's *Living*, Cosmo Canada's editor's intended replacement for *Quest*, sounds like just such a magazine. Just like TV. It's enough to make anyone weep. □

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Welch: a "novelty" lesson that will "build your energy instead of spending it."

Author, TV panelist, *Moonkin's* robot-costumed and Toronto Star editor **Barbara Arndt**, 45, announced last week that she had married **David Graham**, 41, a wealthy Canadian cable TV executive now living in England. The marriage took place in Manhattan in July, when magazine articles carrying interviews quoting Arndt's celebrations of life as a single woman began to circulate. It was Arndt's third marriage and Graham's first. His predecessors: Toronto lawyer **Garry Smith** and author/poet/broadcaster **George Jones**. Sam Coslow, the editor **Leslie Profile** said Arndt would step down from her editorship and move to England but would continue to write three columns a week and "be available" for assignments in Europe. Arndt would not talk to *Moonkin's*, and Graham is recovering from medical complications that arose from serious injuries he received in a car crash near Paris as he returned to London shortly after the wedding. The usually gregarious Jones declared, "I love to give so comments."

Astrophysicist **Paul Welch** has joined the growing group of famous bodies who sell their physical fitness methods to people who want to keep from becoming fat and flabby. Other adherents include **Jane Fonda**, body builder **Jake**

**Sternfeld** and drill instructor **Bill Dawes**, who trained actor **Lee Gussard Jr.** to be physically fit for *An Officer and a Gentleman*. Welch, 42, claims that her new video, *Aspirat, Total Beauty and Fitness*, is "novelty" and will "build your energy instead of spending it." By

**Lafierre**: the fat man and a dry cleaner.



contrast, Sternfeld says that just the means in his new video, *Body by John Doe's* Quest, will "make you want to get up and get cranked." Sternfeld, who is also an aspiring actor with movie film roles to his credit, counts several Hollywood celebrities among his personal clients, including **Harrison Ford** and **Steven Spielberg**. But Welch is seeking a wider market than the average fitness fan. She declared, "I made this video especially for all those people who wish that whole fitness craze would dry up and blow away."

**Montreal artist Charles Daudelin**, 44, gained reinforcement of a sort as he watched French and Quebec governments increasingly restrict his bronze sculptures/monuments at Place du Québec in Paris's Institute Saint-Germain-des-Près district last month. When he studied in the area for two years in the late 1960s, he found the heavy atmosphere overwhelmingly stifling. Daudelin (pronounced "Daw-delin") used to wander around and see **Jean-Paul Sartre** sitting in a café with **Simone de Beauvoir**. Daudelin's fountain, a gift from the Quebec government, lies in the shadow of the Café de France where Sartre used to drink, write and entertain his friends. Now, Daudelin, whose work adorns such structures as Charlottetown's City Hall, the National Arts Centre in Ottawa and the Place des Arts in Montreal, says that he is amazed at his earlier transfix. "Here had my location inhabited the corner," he added. "I guess I have carved out my own place here."

**Vancouver broadcaster Laurier LaPierre**, 44, whose stated net monthly take-home pay is \$4,500, and whose fixed monthly expenses are \$6,180, has declared personal bankruptcy. Currently a Vancouver talk-show host, LaPierre claims he owes \$77,300 to various creditors that range from *Kerr-McCowan* Canada (\$49,512) to a Vancouver dry cleaning establishment (\$222) and include the Bank of Montreal, two law firms, an accountant and a private citizen. His financial affairs are now in the hands of Vancouver's *Scotiabank* trust company, which says that it may be six months before the firm can determine if any of his creditors can be paid. But LaPierre has survived reversals in the past, most notably the collapse of the controversial CBC TV program *This Hour Has Seven Days*, which he co-hosted with writer and TV personality **Patrick Watson** in the mid-1980s. Recalled Watson, "I have seen Laurier keepled down many times in 11 years and he always gets up again—yep!"

—**BARBARA BY BETTE LAMBERT**

## WILDLIFE

## A new air war on rabies

Last year, 2,707 Canadians were treated for rabies after they were bitten or came into close contact with wild animals. Of that number, 2,482 were Ontario residents, and against the problem provincial authorities have been struggling for 10 years to discover a way to administer rabies vaccines to wild animals. In the latest and most promising effort, the Ontario ministry of natural resources is launching a Canada 175 award to drop 16,000 plastic cubes laced with antibiotics and coated with wax and animal fat over 200 square miles of countryside near London, Ont. And Charles MacInnes, supervisor of wildlife research for the ministry, "I am confident that within two years we can reduce rabies to less than 10 per cent of what it is now."

In the 1960s, 26 air drop researchers used the antibiotic tetracycline instead of antibiotic vaccines, because lesions of the tetracycline are easily visible in animals' teeth under microscopic examination. The ministry assigned 16 trappers in the area to collect dead skunks and foxes—the most common rabies carriers—in that their teeth can be analyzed in Toronto. Meanwhile, for one, says he hopes analysis will reveal traces of tetracycline, proving that the animals are not only eating the bait but chewing it thoroughly first.

That is important because Censuaght Laboratories in the area has developed a vaccine which animals can absorb through tissues in their mouths but which is destroyed by acids in their stomachs. Previous tests with ground meat failed because foxes and skunks pulled it straight down. If the latest tests show that the animals are taking the bait properly, researchers will then lace the cubes with the oral vaccine.

No one has died from a rabies infection in Ontario since 1967, but if rabies do not receive treatment the disease is invariably fatal. The cure also is time-consuming and expensive, five injections in the arm are necessary, at a cost of about \$800. Although rabies injections for household pets have helped to curtail the disease, Ontario's large numbers of skunks and foxes make rabies a constant threat to livestock and humans. Still, MacInnes says that by the end of December the test results will firmly establish Ontario's reputation in the fight against one of the world's most dreaded diseases.

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### AGRICULTURE

## The fight to save a crop

In the past three months work gangs have visited 50 tree nurseries in central Florida, buying more than five million young fruit trees in a desperate attempt to restore a deadly virus which is menacing the state's \$2-billion citrus industry. Florida state scientists know that similar strains of citrus canker, a highly infectious bacterial disease, have devastated orange groves in Southeast Asia, China, Japan and South America during the past 10 years. And no one has found a cure for the canker, which, although harmless to humans who eat the infected fruit, kills trees. The stringent measures undertaken so far—including a ban on the sale or movement of Florida-grown fruit within the state—has kept the disease from mature groves of fruit-bearing trees, but some scientists are convinced that the long-term solution lies in developing trees more resistant to canker. Declared Germann Wilkes, a biologist at the University of Massachusetts in Boston. "What has happened in Florida is that they have a high-quality citrus with a narrow genetic base and they are caught—there is no resistance to this virus."

However, finding genes resistant to canker could be difficult. Modern varieties of grapefruit, oranges and lemons derive much of their appealing taste from wild fruit strains found in China and Southeast Asia and imported to North America. But breeding development and the substitution of higher-yielding hybrid citrus species developed in North America have eliminated many of those primitive citrus strains in their native habitats. Government departments, including the U.S. Forest Service, department of agriculture, maintain collections of traditional seeds. Yet Wilkes, for one, wants to see many more scientific expeditions to remote areas to add wild plant genes to existing stocks.

Indeed, strengthening the gene banks that already exist is only the first step in such agricultural crises as the canker threatening Florida's \$2-billion citrus crop: even if scientists find a gene that will produce canker-resistant fruit trees, it could take as long as 20 years before they are available to citrus growers. Said Wilkes: "These vulnerabilities are inherent in the agricultural system. All you can do is have an active research program."

—ROBERT BLOOM



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## MEDICINE

### Too sweet for safety

At least all liquid medicines that children take orally, from cough syrups to antibiotics, contain sugar to make them palatable. And although fluoride and artificial sweeteners have helped reduce the incidence of tooth decay in children, dentists say that sugary medicines still cause unnecessary cases of rampant decay, particularly among children with chronic illnesses such as epilepsy. Dentists have observed the effects of the medicines for as long as they have been available. But many new companies that it is completely preventable and that children are being needlessly subjected to dental damage.

The syndrome most commonly occurs among children between two and four years old, according to Dr. David Kenney, chief dentist at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children. Typically, common prescription medicines given to adults in capsules, such as antibiotics, are dissolved in sweet liquids for children. Kenney added that nonprescription medicines, including lozenges that remain in contact with teeth for many minutes, are also damaging. Sad Kenney, "Doctors do not have much choice, because the drugs available almost all carry sugar." He added that repairing the damage often requires expensive dental work, including capped teeth, on children only two years old.

Dentists blame the damage on the fact that children's medicines are higher concentrations of sugar than is necessary. Dr. Gordon Nikolic, University of Toronto professor of preventive dentistry, said that lower concentrations would result in a "thinner" sugar solution that would be less likely to seal teeth and promote decay. But Kenney added that the use of artificial sweeteners, which drug companies have in far vended because of their price, would be a better solution.

Kenney said that either one of two sweeteners, aspartame or xylitol, could be used to make the medicines palatable without promoting decay. He added that xylitol actually suppressed acid-forming bacteria in some tests done in the United States and Finland. But although xylitol is approved for use in Canada, it is widely used only in sugar-free gum. And so long as medications are sweetened like candy, dentists advise that children treat them the same way—brushing their teeth before and after they take them. —DAN S. BILKURT

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## Exploring a secret past



Sir Wilfrid and (foreground) Lady Laurier: the machinations of love and ambition

### THE PRIVATE CAPITAL

By Sandra Gwyn  
(McClelland and Stewart,  
\$22 pages, \$29.95)

As a national capital, Ottawa has always looked bleak—a sovereign land of snow, stifled provincial respectability in her back. The Private Capital, Sandra Gwyn has uncovered the other Ottawa, a town that during the age of Sir John A. Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier was teeming with the machinations of love and ambition. Gwyn, an award-winning magazine journalist and astute observer of the current Ottawa scene, has plucked almost deliriously into the past the characters the lives of these little-known but representative figures of their time—a civil servant, a social reformer and a political connoisseur—for the early Toronto Globe—by using their letters, diaries, scrapbooks and published reports to describe the texture of Ottawa society. In the process she takes her readers on a guided tour of the private lives of some very public people.

Most schoolchildren who have studied the rudiments of Canadian history know that Macdonald had a drinking problem, but Gwyn offers a sympathetic account of the domestic problems that beset Macdonald. He and his wife, Lady Agnes, had a daughter whom they loved but who was severely mentally and physically handicapped. Macdonald also had to cope with a very strong mother-in-law, who lived with them for the first

eight years of their marriage. In her diary in 1888, Lady Agnes described a typically busy evening: "John is reading Norton's Noblemen in bed and I hear Mamma breaking out her hair next door." Gwyn tartly observes, "This constant heavy-breathing, hair-brushing, presence of his mother-in-law may have been one of the reasons Sir John seldom sought solace in the bottle."

By contrast, Laurier's personal life seemed less hapless and more subterranean. For years, while married to Edie Laurier, he carried on a passionate "friendship" with Emily Lovings, a formidable intellectual who transformed Laurier from a country lawyer into a sophisticated cosmopolitan. Gwyn offers no conclusions about whether Laurier and Lovings were actually lovers, but she plays with several disparate theories, noting that Lovings's son, Armand, looked very much like Laurier but also repeating the assertion by a close friend of Laurier's that he was impotent.

Sometimes the wealth of detail is daunting. A description of a lunch dress laid at the Governor General's residence goes on too long, and occasionally Gwyn's elegant language overpowers her. But those are quibbles. Gwyn has succeeded with grace and wit in illuminating Canada's private past. It would be entertaining to think that, a century from now, someone will tackle the private lives of Bill and Lucy Brown and Miles and Pierre with similar success.

—JENNIFER THORNTON

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# Fanning the flame of power

MILMOONEY, THE MAKING OF THE PRIME MINISTER  
By L. Ian MacDonald  
McClelland and Stewart,  
\$22 paper, \$52 hb

In a title slowly echoed by a journalist Theodore White's account of his country's presidential campaign. But rather than being a history of the Canadian political process. That elected Brian Mulroney Prime Minister on Sept. 4, Mulroney, *The Making of the Prime Minister*, by L. Ian MacDonald, is as close to being an authorized biography of the Tory leader as Canadians are likely to see for some time. With the well-known help and encouragement of Mulroney's friends and advisers—as well as the unparalleled cooperation of Mulroney himself—MacDonald has fashioned the fullest account yet of the new Prime Minister's career.

MacDonald, political columnist for the Montreal Gazette, leads the reader up a solidly researched path. He follows the affable Mulroney from a modest home in Harewood through St. Francis Xavier University to law school and practice in Montreal and the Quebec convention on violence in Quebec's construction industry. Six detailed chapters describe Mulroney's two campaigns for the Conservative leadership, and a concluding chapter describes the speaker's national election campaign.

But it is clear that what MacDonald has gained in access to Mulroney and his friends, he has sacrificed in journalistic detachment. Repeatedly, he puts the best possible interpretation on sensitive matters. One is Mulroney's part in the organizing of a secret trust fund for Terry leadership candidate Claude Wagner in 1972. Then, in 1976, Mulroney's old Liberal friend, Peter White, leaked the story of the fund's existence to *The Toronto Star*—when Mulroney himself just happened to be endorsing the Terry leadership with Wagner. MacDonald accepts without comment Mulroney's assertion that he had little to do with organizing the fund and nothing to do with the leak. Similarly, MacDonald asks the reader to believe that Mulroney, after publicly supporting Conservative Leader Joe Clark, was unaware of the existence of a group that snatched old Mulroney friend, former Newfoundland premier Frank Moores, from a 1981 to form a review of Clark's leadership. MacDonald's admiration for Mulroney is spectacularly unreserved. He even dredges up one of the Prime Minister's old college term papers, shows it to Mulroney and evinces how brilliant the student effort was. But when Mul-



The Mulroneys' 'a male-chance guy'

rony, as president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada, closed down mining operations in Schefferville, Que., in 1982. MacDonald, without the slightest sense of irony, portrays him at a press conference, hilariously fantasizing that his resorts and women will replace the town's economy. When MacDonald writes that Mulroney gave up drinking prior to the 1982 leadership race, the revelation jars. It is the first time the author hints that Mulroney had ever taken it up seriously in the first place.

The best insights into his character come from some of Mulroney's close private friends and acquaintances. Donald Macdonald, the director of the National Arts Centre, remembers Mulroney as "a man-chance guy" who "takes a lot of oxygen in any particular room." But when MacDonald makes the occasional attempt to dramatize Mulroney as he is at best flaccid, at worst maddening. "Amidst the joy that reigned in the Mulroneys' home," he writes of the 1982 leadership convention, "the snow-bound Hamilton Pressick clapped his daughter and mother-in-law together in a hug, his wife and mother-in-law to go on being herself, whatever else happened." While such cornball sentiment may be just bearable in a throwback Irish politician like Mulroney, it is inexcusable in a writer with pretensions other than those of a courtier seeking favor with a new government. —NORMAN SCHIFFER

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## A savage holocaust of nature

SEA OF SLAUGHTER  
By Farley Mowat  
(McClelland and Stewart,  
128 pages \$25.95)

Before writing his immensely popular *Never Cry Wolf* (1968), Farley Mowat lived among wolves. The genesis of *Sea of Slaughter* is less sensational but it still reveals Mowat as a man who lives what he writes about. Thirty years of working throughout the Maritimes suggested to the prolific author that the wildlife of the region was in drastic decline. "There was a perceptible reduction in the numbers of moose, sealions, halibut, whales, porpoises, herring, eiders, salmon and many other such whose genomes I had come to take for granted." Finding his conclusions confirmed by scientists, Mowat began in 1970 to research a book that would detail the slow destruction of northeastern North America's animal life since the arrival of the first Europeans. *Sea of Slaughter* is the result of his labors. It may outrage some readers with its eco-boulevardism and occasional shortage of statistics but it is still one of the most chilling records of man's greed and wastefulness toward the natural world since Rachel Carson's 1962 classic, *Silent Spring*.

The encompassing scope of *Slaughter* gives it an enormous impact. Most books in the field tend to detail the decline of a single creature, such as the passenger pigeon or the blue whale. But because Mowat includes several dozen birds, mammals and fish in his survey and charts their wholesale massacres over the past 480 years, he makes it abundantly clear that he's speaking now of nearly a minuscule fraction of the natural life that once graced his portion of the planet.

That discouraging situation had its origins in a veritable Eden of natural paradise. Sixteenth-century North America viewed the early settlers and explorers they could scoop up fish by the basketful, and the woods teemed with game. Not surprisingly, the newcomers acted as if the supply were limitless. *Sea of Slaughter* details how Hudson's Bay Company's penguin-like Great Auk in such numbers—when slaughtering is alive—that by 1845 it had vanished entirely. Another now-extinct bird, the Eskimo curlew, fell in close to sportsmen who sometimes used it for target practice before turning their guns to ely venison.

Even more shocking than the scale of the carnage were the excuses that sportsmen and even scientists offered when species began to disappear. Few of them blamed the hunters. It was reach-

more convenient to suggest that migratory patterns had changed. Another rationalization—still popular—blames one wild creature for the decline of another. Mowat recalls British Columbia Forestry Minister Anthony Brazeal's 1983 demand to kill 400 wolves in the Peace River district: he claimed they were responsible for the decline of big



Wolfshe officer, dead wolf chilling

game animals in the region. Brazeal's argument not only let the hunters pursue the slaughter, it typically characterized the wolf as "one of the most dangerous, vicious, unrelenting killers in existence." As Mowat notes, that view is simply "the reflected image of ourselves."

Some readers may characterize Mowat as an extremist who mocks the "machines" of hunters and does not understand modern resource management policies. But as the evidence of his books and more far-ranging vision than his critics. *Sea of Slaughter* demonstrates the author's rare sense of wonder at the natural world. And it documents with harrowing clarity that man's greed for excessive profits can lead only to his own ultimate and tragic impoverishment.

—JOHN BISHOP

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## Exploring an Israeli tragedy

ISRAEL'S LEBANON WAR  
By Zvi Segev and Shaul Nofar  
(Morrow, \$25 pages, \$25.95)

Much of the journalism that has quadrupled as history pays obsequious attention to the official spokesmen who provide consistency in serious events. But there is another kind of journalism—one that relies on independent investigation and looks from well-placed sources. Zvi Segev, the distinguished military correspondent for Ha'aretz, Israel's most prestigious national newspaper, found himself in possession of a fascinating look at 700 in on Sept. 15, 1983. An unofficial source is the Israeli Defense Force's general staff phoned him to say that he had heard of a detail—Arab for slaughter—in Lebanon, while the Israeli army had invaded three months before. Because the following day was a religious holiday, Segev was unable to print the story. Still, he did break the news to some Israeli cabinet ministers. But Prime Minister Menachem Begin was so out of touch with his cabinet and his military intelligence that he learned of the massacre of more than 700 Palestinians at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps from Beirut-based reporters on the world news report of the British Broadcasting Corp.

*Israel's Lebanon War*, by Segev and Israeli television correspondent Shaul Nofar, serves as a cry of conscience for modern Israel. It is unapologetic in its documentation of the coverup behind which Israel's supposedly unswerving army became entangled in the labyrinthine politics of an Arab nation. The book has its biases: politicians and professional soldiers who warned about the foolishness of the Lebanese venture. If there is a villain, it is a Defense Minister Ariel Sharon, who almost single-handedly launched the invasion—Operation Peace for Galilee—to stop the Russian-sponsored attacks on Israeli border towns. But the authors say that in the process he began a war which has turned on its creators with "terrible consequences still to be measured."

One opponent of Sharon's plan was Col. Eli Geva, 33, the commander of an elite armored brigade which Sharon ordered to begin the assault on Palestinian positions in West Beirut in July. But when Geva looked through his binoculars at the children playing in the crowded tenement buildings of Beirut, he asked to be relieved of his command. Two days later the army fired Geva and replaced him with a position in the

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survives. Soon the "Gaza affair" had become a rallying cry for Sharon's grieving Peace Now movement.

There were others, besides Geva, who questioned the wisdom of Sharon's Operation Peace for Galilee—and its ethnic motives. Chief among these was Shimon Peres, who moved into central Lebanon to withdraw large Syrian forces in the Bekaa Valley and to link up with right-wing Maronite Christians. But the army's chief of intelligence, Maj. Gen. Yehoshua Sagie, and Yitzhak Rabin, then chief of Masada, the Israeli secret services, wisely questioned the reliability of the Maronites—doubts borne out after Christian forces were implicated in the refugee massacres.

Even the operation's high points—glorious military achievements for the Israelis—ultimately had negative results. The Israeli air force knocked out 14 of the 19 Syrian SAM missile sites in the Bekaa Valley, but the authors point out that Israel's highly secret technological capacity "would have been better used for the development of a genuine war of attrition." And Masada has replaced the SAM missiles with longer-range SAMs, manned by Soviet crews linked directly to Moscow.

The political results of the war were more obviously disastrous. Maronite Christian leader Bashir Gemayel, Israel's preferred candidate for the Lebanese presidency, died in a bomb attack while a Syrian-backed terrorist cell had engineered. And while the forced evacuation from Lebanon in August of Palestinian fighters and their leader, Yasser Arafat, seemed to satisfy the operation's goal, the relatively moderate Arafat subsequently lost much of his control of the PLO in a more militant wing.

But perhaps the greatest political damage was to Israel's spirit of democracy—severely abused, the authors charge, because the military machine operated "outside the real control of the country's legitimate government." The authors could not determine whether Sharon deliberately misled Begin or whether the prime minister deluded himself. But they must that Begin's responsibility for the war was "beyond question." Crushed by an elusive domestic mission, Begin resigned in October, and has rarely been seen since.

Sagie and Yaron dismiss the Lebanese adventure as "a really, senseless war." The best they hope for is that Israel will learn their lessons well. In the pessimistic accuracy of their reporting, the authors have done a service to Israeli democracy and to the soldiers and civilians who raised their voices in protest. Above all, they have served their own trade well by refusing to lend the shores of dissembling official sources.

—CY JARDON



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## NATURE

# Survival of the fittest

When Metropolitan Toronto Zoo officials announced last year that they were considering destroying Ilium, a healthy 32-year-old male Siberian tiger, there was an immediate public outcry. Officials had considered destroying him to make room for a younger animal and to prevent inbreeding among the limited population of 308 tigers in 30 North American zoos. The resulting controversy ensured his survival, but the affair also focused attention on one of the most misunderstood functions of modern zoos: managing the survival of species that are vanishing in the wild but thriving in captivity. Early next year the zoo will import another Siberian male, probably from an American zoo, mating it with one of its two female tigers, but with officials trying to maintain a healthy, diversified population throughout North America, individual animals who are too old or whose breeding value has been exhausted may still face the same fate that Ilium narrowly missed.

For some species there are alternatives to euthanasia. Last August the



Siberian tiger, a population explosion

National Zoo in Washington, D.C., returned a group of golden lion tamarins (a species of monkey) to their native habitat in Brazil, and the Bronx Zoo has successfully bred condors and released them in Peru. But that method is unlikely to save many surplus Siberian tigers. Enclosed Thomas Foose of the Minnesota Zoo near Minneapolis. "Because of their requirements for vast resources and their direct competition, and after careful, with care, the big cats will be the least preservable of species in the wild."

Overcrowded tiger enclosures first became a serious problem in the early 1970s when North American zoos successfully bred large numbers of Siberian tigers. Then, in an attempt to control the population explosion, officials curtailed breeding for about five years among animals that can live for up to 20 years in captivity—a solution that created other complications. Declared Olive Reiss, director of Winnipeg's Assiniboine Park Zoo: "We soon realized that if every zoo was doing the same thing, the whole world population of tigers would soon be past breeding age." Still, age is at a premium in North American zoos. And in Winnipeg, where the zoo has four adult Siberian tigers, one female will have to be forced for three tigers in the next two years—or they will have to be killed.

—DAVE SILVER

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Edison has embarked on a four-point program to combat the epidemic, including better treatment at the city's venereal disease clinic and the use of a full-time "contact tracer"—a public health nurse who tracks down people who may be spreading the disease. Although the program has helped to increase the number of prostitutes who have visited the clinic, officials caution that only full public cooperation can curb the outbreak. Said Romanowski: "The ones in or on people to be aware of who they are jumping into bed with."

—GORDON LARSEN in Chicago



# The search for a link to the lake

By Ann Finkelson

For more than 20 years Toronto city officials have searched for a downtown redevelopment plan that would link the city with its most prominent geographical feature: the Lake Ontario waterfront. The Gardiner Expressway, railway yards and industrial buildings that now cut across the city's downtown core are a forbidding barrier of concrete and steel north of the lake. The search seemed to be over in January 1980, when Metro council endorsed Metrolinx, an innovative scheme that among other things, called for parks and affordable housing to replace waterfront industry while diverting new office development to neighbouring suburbs. But last December the city council approved in principle a proposal that contradicted Metrolinx's goals. It chose a scheme worked out between area landowners and civic planners which would concentrate development in downtown Toronto. Said Neil Laxman, mayor of neighbouring North York: "There is no doubt about it. It does kill the Metrolinx and the development of other parts of Metro."

That scheme is an ambitious \$5-billion redevelopment plan for 165 acres of prime real estate reclaimed from the lake over the past 200 years. Much of the land was given by the city to a 19th-century railroad company to help it build the western rail lines. Canadian National and Canadian Pacific railway maintenance shops and marshalling yards now occupy about 75 per cent of that area, and the two companies spend a decade working with four levels of government before converting their rehabilitation venture for the entire site in September, 1983. Critics of the concept are still waiting to see the plan's final details. Among the highlights of the 1983 plan: office towers as high as 36 stories south of the existing downtown financial core, 5,000 new housing units, 14.7 million square feet of office, commercial and retail space, 4.9 km of new roads, and 30 acres of parkland and open space, none of it around a landmark already built on the site, the 1,285-foot-long C. Tower. Said Donald Mitchell, planning director for CTA's real estate arm: "The railway lands offer the opportunity to convert 168 acres of industrial land to uses that were never possible with surrounding areas. That would be a substantial achievement."

But the high-density development and relatively small amounts of park-

land and open space angered critics, who also objected to council approving a plan without adequate public discussion. Said former Toronto mayor John Sewell: "We have not been doing development like this for 10 years. This is the way we used to do things in Toronto. You would announce the plan and then invite the people to comment on it."

For their part, the railways are still involved in complicated land-swapping negotiations with neighboring property owners before development of the site



Epstein: redeveloping the waterfront

can begin. And although the participants have yet to release detailed plans of the proposal or the anticipated final cost of publicly provided services, the project still has the enthusiastic support of Toronto Mayor Arthur Eggleton. The reason, Eggleton argues, is that the new plan will provide access to the waterfront, generate more than \$100 million in new tax revenues and create thousands of jobs over the next 25 years. Said Eggleton: "It is a brilliant proposal that combines private enterprise, political will and the public good."

But Sewell's allyman Jack Layton argues that retaining the elevated expressway, enlarging the business district and encouraging new streets that run south to the lakeshore will make it more difficult for ordinary citizens to

use the waterfront. As well, Layton and Sewell predict that the implementation of the scheme will aggravate traffic congestion and pollution in the centre of the city. Said Layton: "The only ones to benefit from this proposal will be the developers. The rest of us will get very little, and will end up shouldering the million of dollars just to provide the transportation facilities it will require." Still, last week the Toronto Transit Commission announced plans for a \$70-million transit line linking the downtown core with the waterfront. Eggleton has backed the transit project, saying it is a crucial step in the city's development of the harbor.

The future of the railway lands became even murkier last May when CTA extended the debate over Toronto's need for a domed stadium by suggesting that it would donate 11 acres of its property for a new sports arena. The new stadium, which could cost as much as \$100 million (funded through contributions from private enterprise and federal, provincial and municipal grants), is now one of six sites that a provincially appointed committee is studying. Retiring Premier William Davis says he personally favors a waterfront site, but a committee decision—expected before year's end—supporting his preference for a 65,000-seat stadium in the area would also increase concerns about traffic congestion in downtown Toronto. North York's Laxman, for one, favors a domed stadium site in his city, north of the lake, and he argues that a waterfront stadium would be too close to Toronto's theatre district and government centre. Said Laxman: "Downtown Toronto will become a disaster zone. You will have nothing but a massive gridlock—streets jammed with cars."

Almost a year after city council endorsed proposals for the railway lands, representatives of community groups are willing to discuss the development and public hearings still have not been scheduled. For comparison they can look back to 1972, when a similar initiative resulted successfully in securing Davis to halt construction of the Spadina Expressway, a freeway that would have cut south through the city and linked up with the Gardiner Expressway. But Sewell and Layton say that failure in their fight against the railway's proposal could also end a past victory. Increased traffic congestion in the city's downtown will likely revive calls for the completion of the supposedly dead Spadina Expressway. □

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# The tensions of sons and lovers

FIRSTBORN

Directed by Michael Apted

Firstborn is a flawed but trenchant film about the perils of being the powerless child of a misbegotten parent. Wendy Livingston (Tori Carr) works hard to be a casual, understanding, democratic mother to her drunken son, teenage Jake (Christopher Collet) and his younger brother Brian (Cory Allen). For the most part she succeeds, but she is not quite ready to throw out into the world—the keeps hoping that her wandering husband will come home. When the father does arrive, he proudly announces his plans to marry again. From that moment Wendy begins to slide. She needs love. She needs a man.

Then, one morning, Sam (Peter Walker) walks casually into the Livingston kitchen and introduces himself to the surprised son over breakfast. He has spent the night with their mother. He spent the night Sam means in. These early, halfhearted events are a careful prelude to the explosive centre of the film: the two boys' furious rejection of their mother's choice of a live-in lover. "He's a loser," Jake screams at Wendy. "Are you blind?"

There is a rush that looks unappealing and austere to the character of the slippery, cut-of-work man who empowers endlessly as his American Dream of opening a restaurant with Wendy's money. But Walker (who played the title role in *The Adventures of Prigme*) creates a rare of sympathy for Sam's desperate attempt to find acceptance from the family.

The sedgy endearments between Jake and his mother are especially revealing. Collet, a poised, 16-year-old, plays Jake with maturity and force. Carr, who has specialized in light-headed comic roles, in a revelation as the vague, passive, mid-20s grown-up mother. And director Michael Apted (*Chariot*) uses his *Documentary* style to create the psychological tension the viewer is left to decide whether the boys are right about Sam, or whether poor, foolish Sam should have the chance to be accepted by the surrogate family which he so desperately wants.

Still, it is hard to believe that the film-makers responsible for *Firstborn's* early audiences could have conceived the film's repugnant, violent final half-hour. Underdogged and bloody scenes of domestic violence involving chairs and statues of cocaine make what has been one of the finest adult dramas of the year.

—GORDON PEARCE



Cryer, Moore: adhering to fixed conventions of 1940s adolescent comedy

## Fuzzy pictures of a romance

NO SMALL AFFAIR

Directed by Jerry Schatzberg

With his all-grown-up feature films, *Poison* of a *Dogville* (1970), *Peacemaker* (1971), *Hollywood* director Jerry Schatzberg became a favorite of cinema critics. But Schatzberg's admirers may have trouble finding his talents in *No Small Affair*. He puts little effort into his story about the seduction of a teenage girl, Charles Cummings (Jon Cryer), for a 21-year-old rock singer, Laura Victor (Demi Moore). Instead, he adheres to the tired, unoriginal vagaries of 1940s adolescent comedy and fails to establish a point of view. And his cinematographer, Vilmos Zsigmond (*The Deer Hunter*), seems equally contented in his unconvincingly chosen San Francisco street locales.

The story centres on gawky Charles, who hides his social shyness behind a cloying charm. One day Charles focuses his lens seductively on the moody, aspired Laura, lead singer for a shaky local band. The signs are approaching the obvious without ever attaining a moment of truth. "Maybe everything isn't going to work out," Laura whispers. "Maybe I'm a lonely singer."

Maybe she is, but Charles decides to make the dependent Laura happy by posing her photograph and telephone number on tape. The scheme backfires when heavy brothers begin sniffing, assuming Laura is the star attraction of a photo-innocent service.

Laura under age lacks humor, as do most of the broad, adolescent jokes in *No Small Affair* (including Charles's mother's interruption when he is in bed beside a call girl. Coincidentally, her

smile enables Charles to preserve his virginity for Laura and for the obligatory gentle sexual initiation with soft kisses and mostly reverts—the right before the obligatory happy ending when she signs a record contract.

Cryer offers an appropriately low-key performance as Charles, but Moore's main qualifications as Laura seems to be her severely felicitous voice, sultry smile—and her two-year stint on TV's *General Hospital*. Unfortunately, the movie needs more major surgery than that.

—G P

### MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

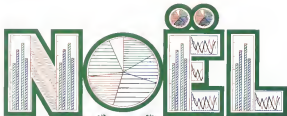
#### Piction

- 1 *The Thin Red Line, Amap and Strath* (2)
- 2 *The Thursday Afternoon, Forsyth* (2)
- 3 *First Among Equals, Archer* (2)
- 4 *The American Prometheus, Ledford* (2)
- 5 *Strong Medicine, Haskin* (2)
- 6 *The Big, Live* (2)
- 7 *Proof, Frawley* (2)
- 8 *Job & Comedy of Justice, Haskin* (2)
- 9 *Crescent City, Pagan*
- 10 *... And Ladies of the Club, Sontag* (2)

#### Nonfiction

- 1 *The Provoked Land, Berlin* (2)
- 2 *Lacrosse, Scares with Week* (2)
- 3 *What They Don't Teach You At Harvard Business School, McCormick* (2)
- 4 *The Year of Awareness, Thomas and Marjorie White* (2)
- 5 *Leaving Each Other, Bouslog* (2)
- 6 *Griffith, Griffith and Taylor* (2)
- 7 *In God's Name, Bishop* (2)
- 8 *There, A Wesley Story, Williams with Leach* (2)
- 9 *Bellevue, Bouslog* (2)
- 10 *Looking for Trouble, Worthington* (2)

(1) *Positive last week*



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# The power of Ronald Reagan

By Allan Fotheringham

I was on a plane the other day, flying from Sydney to Berlin with a stop at Los Angeles, when I heard one American businessman talking to another about House Reagan. One was saying he had read that Reagan didn't work very hard at his job. "That's right," the second chap said, approvingly, "he's sort of like the Queen of England. He just sits up there above the bottle and kind of supervises." It is a good description as one of the child-like men who has just been given such a vote of confidence by an American public unconcerned about his age, his casual work habits or his lack of grasp of detail or mundane facts. The voters simply like what they see, an uncomplaining guy who has a few simple ideas and just keeps repeating them over and over again. "I go in circles," Marshall McLuhan used to say, "because I'm drifting, and only by repetition can I get my message across." Reagan just keeps repeating that he thanks America is great.

It is, when you look at it, completely loony. The most vigorous and energetic country on earth elects as its boss a guy who will be within weeks of his 80th birthday if he makes it through his second term, someone who will equal the gossamer speculations now coughing through the Krensch, the rival power that has had three ailing and falling leaders in a row. Reagan promises to slash budgets, to bring down the big checks and be an archer, he tells stories about himself that, when you check the facts, don't add up, but he makes people feel good.

He especially makes feel good a segment of the population that has been rather sorry for itself of late. It is a voter that elections can be called The Revenge of the White Male Getting even in the secret. The ballot box is one's own private little bit man. All the good of boys of the nation have had it up to their ears with the feminist movement, for one thing. Their own young businessmen-raising associates are re-

lated their Addison Germaine Greer they would like to hang in office. All the talk of Rev. Jesse Jackson, an rather too good-looking for his own good, convincing millions of blacks to register for the first time was had enough. Added to that was Geraldine Ferraro, who is going to fight a free in the women of America that is going to cause the pallid personality of Walter Mondale.

The good of boys sacked in their beer bellies and made sure they made it to the polling booth. So Alabama and Mississippi and Louisiana and all these other bastions of the Deep South, as which the



Roosevelt Coolidge was based 50 years ago, all went swimmingly for the Republican Reagan. The charismatic Norwegian had already lost part of his crucial Jewish vote because the strident Jackson was dreadfully slow to explain away some of his aides and some of his contemporaries who offended that influential community. Mondale was thought to be too much the hands-on of the big unions, when unions are not popular in the current rightish mood of the public.

Now Mondale was doing something even more outrageous. If you lived in, say, Georgia and liked watching football on Saturday afternoons at the college stadiums and Sunday afternoons before the box. The solution? Use the ballot box to get revenge on all those quacksters hanging around Washington and writing in *The New York Times*. The major Ferraro, who was to make history, did not even carry her own district of Queens, which, but we forget, is the setting for the Archie Bunker TV set-

ting. (It wasn't set in Queens for nothing, double.)

The Americans are finally tired of the guilt they felt over the Watergate disgrace. They are tired of the open warfare they had with their children over the first Vietnam adventure. They were humiliated in Iran and wish they had never gotten involved in Lebanon. Now they've got this old geezer who tells them to hold up their heads again, be as chauvinistic as they want at the Los Angeles Olympics and wave, wave, wave the flag. They're tired of guilt and of feeling hapless and of being responsible for the ills of the world,

and apple pie and Main Street sound very good to them at the moment. So they give this one to The Gipper.

It is not that Americans are so desperately Republican in spirit. The party actually lost two seats in the Senate and didn't march out into the Democratic control of the House of Representatives. This suggests that the Democrats keep putting up those whopping figures as estimates for the White House. Since John Kennedy was elected a quarter-century ago, Democrats have been putting up a series of men who do not fit the Ameri-

can ideal of a leader. Even the supposedly tough Lyndon Johnson backed away from trying for a second full term and quit because he couldn't take the heat of Vietnam. Hubert H. Humphrey came across as a cheerleader. George McGovern was a disaster as a campaigner. Jimmy Carter became a one-term sermonizer. And Mondale, a man who spent 40 years apprenticeship for this role, confessed in the end that he neither liked television nor understood it, an astonishing admission of lack of education for the simplistic medium that new rules politics.

Democrats have now lost four of the past five presidential elections. Reagan, if his casual work habits preserve his health and he is not shot by yet another madman, has the first chance since the Eisenhower in the 1950s to complete two full terms. If so, he will be the first man, in the most important office in the world, to do so in 32 years. The odds are not great. It's a high-risk business.

Allan Fotheringham is a columnist for *Sunday News*.

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